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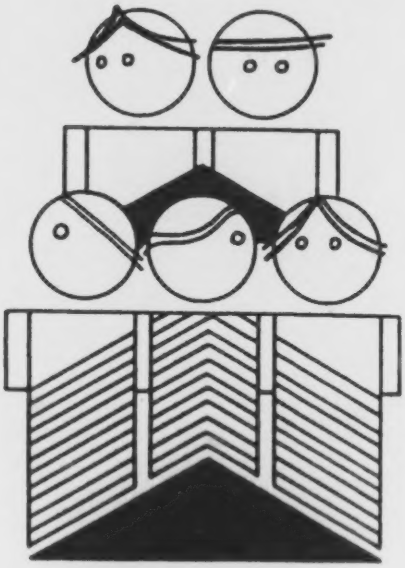

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L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ETUDE DE L'EDUCATION DES ADULTES

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CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ETUDE DE L'EDUCATION DES ADULTES

Editor / Rédacteur
"Morris" H.K. Baskett

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Dear CASAE Conferees,

On behalf of the Executive and conference committee, I welcome you to the 10th Annual Conference of The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education.

This is the 10th anniversary of CASAE's rapid development in assuming a leadership role in the field of adult education. The quality of scholarship published in these proceedings is evidence of the Association's leadership in promoting and disseminating research in adult education.

Special thanks is extended to the organizing committee, paper review chairs and others who have contributed to the successful organization of the conference. It is our sincere desire that the conference will be intellectually challenging and enjoyable.

D. Randy Garrison
President

Chers Conférents de l'ACÉÉA,

Je vous souhatie, au nom du comité de direction et du comité de la conférence, la bienvenue à la 10e Conférence annuelle de l'Association Canadienne pour l'étude de l'Education des Adultes.

Cet événement marque les 10 ans durant lesquels l'ACEEA est rapidement devenue le chef de file dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes. Le haut niveau académique des articles publiés dans lest actes est une preuve tangible du rôle prépondérant de l'Association dans la promotion des connaissances relatives à l'éducation des adultes et leur diffusion.

Remercions tout particulièrement le comité organisateur, les présidents des comités de révision des articles et tous ceux et celles qui ont contribué au succès de l'organisation de la Conférence. Notre voeu le plus cher est que la Conférence soit agréable et stimulante au plan intellectuel.

Le Président
D. Randy Garrison

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ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ETUDE DE L'EDUCATION DES ADULTES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS
TABLE DES MATIERES

		Page
BASKETT, H.K.	Confronting the Self in Research	1
BECKER, Laurel	Learning Processes as They	7
HILL, Lilian	Occur in Groups: A Comparison	7
BÉDARD, René	La pensée critique a-t-elle un sexe?	13
OUELLETTE, Jeannine M.		13
BLUNT, Adrian	The Effect of Literacy on Income and Duration of Employment	21
BRITON, Derek DEVINS, Susan PLUMB, Donovan	Graduate Student Groups for Popular Education	27
BUTTERWICK, Shauna JACKSON, Nancy MacKERACHER, Dorothy	Symposium:Working Knowledge: Re-Thinking Women's Learning About Work	33
CESLJAREVIC, Olivera TREMBLAY, Nicole A. MARTINEAU, Georges	Etude des liens entre l'autodirection et le rendement académique chez des étudiant(e)s d'une université vénézuélienne.	39
COLLARD, Sue COLLINS, Michael CUNNINGHAM, Phyllis WELTON, Michael	Symposium: Developing the Text Together: Toward a Critical Practice of Adult Education	45
COLLINS, Michael et al	Symposium: HRD and The Workplace: Are there Alternatives? Symposium: Le milieu de travail peut-il etre formateur?	51
COLLINS, Michael	HRD As Adult Education's Contribution to De-Skilling	
CHÉNÉ, Adèle	Le développement des ressources humaines et le modele japonais	
WELTON, Michael	Creating the Educative Workplace	
CRUIKSHANK, Jane	Ethical Issues in University Extension Work	57
DUFF, Viola JOHNSTON, Nancy LASCHINGER, Heather	A Study of Learning Styles Among Chinese and Canadian Nurses	63
DUFRESNE-TASSÉ, Colette DAO, Kim Chi	Quelques données sur le questionnement du visiteur de musée*	68

		Page
DYSON, Rose (CASAE PEACE GROUP)	Symposium: New Approaches to Social Activism: Challenges facing the Adult Educator for Cultural and Social Transformation in the 1990's Symposium: Approches Nouvelles de l'activisme social Défis confrontés par léducateur (-trice) adulte pour la transformation culturelle et sociale dans les années 1990	74
SIDDIQUI, Nuzhat	The Cosmic Way Paradigm: An Alternative Developed by Maitreya Handa	
FALLIS, Bill	The Role of Adult Educators in Facilitating Peace	
McQUEEN, Bill	OISE Teach-In Against the Gulf War: An experiment in paradigm shift	
ELIAS, Mary SCANLAN, Judith M. MAGNUSON, Berna A. MASON, Diana J. COSTELLO-NICKITAS, Donna	The Impact of a Collaborative Workshop Based on Feminist Pedagogy: A Case Study	80
GEISSINGER, Helen	When Institutions Collaborate	86
GIBSON, Robert H.	Deterrents to Participation in Adult Education: A College Perspective	93
GILLEN, Marie A.	From the Inside Looking Out: A Twenty Year Perspective on the St. F.X. Program	99
HARRIS, Elayne et al	Symposium: Reflections on Development: Theory and Practice	106
HARRIS, Elayne	Critical Reflections	
LOUCKS, Bryan M.	Indigenous Science: Cultural Reorientation and Decolonization	
WINTER, Gail	Kingfisher Lake: A Model of Native Community Development	
HINDS, Cora	Gender Differences in Caregiver Stress: A Developmental Process	112
HOME, Alice LEMAIRE, Christiane	Multiple Role Women Studying Adult Education: Literature Review and Preliminary Results Etudiantes avec rôles multiples en andragogie: revue de la litterature et donnees Préliminaires	118
HRIMECH, Mohamed	Problèmes d'identification de l'apprentissage de l'adulte au musée: éléments de solution	128

		Page
HRIMECH, Mohamed	Stratégies d'apprentissage utilisées spontanément par des étudiants adultes	134
HUNT, Ian	The Museum as Popular and Mutual Enlightenment: Vancouver's Museum and Art Gallery 1894 - 1916	140
KARPIAK, Irene E.	Adult Development through the Spectrum of Consciousness	146
LAPOINTE, Thérèse	L'adulte au musée et ses souvenirs	152
LAUZON, A.C. MOORE, G.A.B.	Integrating Computer-Based Instruction and Computer-Conferencing for Distance Delivery	158
LEFEBVRE, André DUFRESNE-TASSÉ, Colette	Impossible de lire ce paragraphe sur le disque	167
LÉVESQUE-BARBES, Hélène DUFRESNE-TASSÉ, Colette	Les conditions souhaitables d'administration des auto-évaluations auprès des professionnels de la santé	173
LITNER, Bluma	Women in University: the Question of Educational Equity	179
MLOZI, Malongo R.S.	Conceptual Basis of Program Failure in Tanzanian Agricultural Extension	185
OUELLETTE, Monique	Interculturalism and Andragogy: a Self-Training Tool	191
PALACIOS, Alejandro	Agricultural Extension and B.C. First Nations Farmers: Between Modernity and Chief George Manuel's Fourth World Perspective	197
ROSS, Lynda R.	An Exploration of Factors Affecting Student's Choice to Continue Post-Secondary Studies at a Distance	203
RUNDLE, Patricia	Hospital Ethics Committees: A Role for Adult Educators	209
SCHICK, Carol	Teaching Ourselves to Read	215
SELMAN, Gordon	Yesterday Speaks to Today: Voices from the Mid - 1930's	221
SPENCER, Bruce McILROY, John	Can CASAE Learn from UK Experience?	227

		Page
THOMAS, Alan M.	Understanding Social Education in Japan: A Canadian Perspective	233
VAN DAELE, Christa BAR-DAVID, Geila COMUZZI, Catherine	Apprenticing in a Thesis Support Group: A Peer Mentorship Model	238
VAN GENT, Bastiaan	The Museum as Adult Educator A Dutch perspective	244
WALL, Margaret E. CHAPMAN, Don DIETZE, Beverlie	Death: The Adult Learner's Penumbra	250
WALSH, Stephen M.	Persistence and Participation Research: Applicability to Distance Education and the Distance Learner	256
WIGMORE, Shirley K.	The Hidden History of Women in Frontier College	262
WIGMORE, Shirley K.	"Mining" The Frontier College Archives: Labourer-Teachers at the Castle-Trethewey Mine, Northern Ontario, 1925 - 1930.	268

CONFRONTING THE SELF IN RESEARCH

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Abstract: Despite appearances of objectivity and impartiality, research is an extension of the self. This paper explores how the personal influences the research process.

Resumé: Malgré des apparences d'objectivité et d'impartialité, la recherche est une extension du "moi." Cet article étudie comment l'individu influence le processus de recherche.

> "Sometimes we talk about research (as a) step-by-step process. It isn't that way at all...in reality, it's a continually involving process..." (Excerpt of an interview with a recently appointed assistant professor. Fall,1989)

The belief that research is an impartial and objective science is under siege. Nonetheless, most researchers, and certainly those of us who were brought to the sacred fount of research before the mid-1980's still harbour some vague notions that science is indeed extra-personal and impartial.

These notions are hardly self-imposed. Most textbooks and research classes still portray research as a step-by-step, systematic and technical pursuit devoid of human emotion. By omission, if not commission, we humans are characterized as mere executors of the inviolable research design-passive tenders to an inexorable process.

That research is indeed a human endeavour has become an issue of interest in adult education only very recently, although Kaplan (1964) and Gouldner(1961) at least obliquely confronted these issues in the social sciences much earlier. By reading the recent literature, as well as through talking to researchers, it becomes apparent that research is becoming recognized as the very personal, subjective activity that it is. It is an emotional, intimate enterprise which involves our psyche, our passions, as well as our sense of worth and identity.

In this paper, I draw from some of the literature, and from over 60 semi-structured interviews of young and old, experienced and inexperienced graduate students, practitioners, and university faculty. I try to understand the manner and circumstances under which research and persona become intertwined, and the effects this has on the development and legitimization of knowledge in our field.

I don't think of myself as a traditional researcher. I long ago burst the bonds of slavish positivism, and I have joyfully embraced the new, tantalizing interpretist paradigms. Or so I thought. Why, then did it take several encounters with feminist graduate students at CASAE in Victoria in 1990 before it began to dawn on me that I continued to treat my study of the experiences of researchers in adult education as "out there", as something to which I was only the disciplined, distant, impartial observer, devoid of human feeling, collecting and analyzing my data, so that I could deliver to the anticipating masses my carefully considered FINDINGS?

How could I have been so blind as to not see the very humanity and passion with which my "subjects" engaged in their research? How could I have be so blind as to not see that my research was ME; that it was deeply engrossing for personal reasons, and that I was pursuing this with passion and excitement? How? Quite clearly, in retrospect, I remain in bondage to my socialization as a traditional, detached researcher. I have not yet escaped the grip of positivism, try though I may. What follows is a schizophrenic portrayal of my attempt to embrace the new paradigms, with the old, positivist other self awkwardly and intermitently resurfacing.

RESEARCH AS EXCITEMENT

Reason and Marshall (1989) have said that research speaks to three audiences: to others who are trying to understand a similar field; to those who struggle with problems in their field of action; and to ourselves:

> "...for *me* to the extent that the process and outcomes respond directly to the individual researcher's being-in-the-world, and so elicits the response, 'That's exciting!...'" (p.112-113)

Only after my Victoria encounters, and my subsequent review of the transcripts, did it become quite clear that many of those I visited and interviewed were tremendously excited and involved about what they were doing, and it showed:

> "So, I am trying to find a way to do the task and still not lose my totally natural spontaneity, excitement, about the thing itself."

> "Well, it is a range of feelings, there isn't one that dominates. It may go in stages. The first is excitement that is borne of anticipation of discovery."

> "I didn't expect how exciting the act of discovery was. Certainly designing the stuff and all this was interesting, but what I found extremely exciting was doing analyses with the data that I had collected..."

THE SELF AND LINES OF RESEARCH

How does one come to be interested in research in the first place? Do each of us as researchers simply consult the many lists of needed research and select a topic to be worked on? Indeed, some researchers interviewed did report extensive research grids, often representing a lifetime agenda of research, at which they continued to systematically pick away. Others spoke of relevance, being confronted with value conflicts, serendipity, passion, opportunities, and personal crises as factors which brought them to pursue a topic:

> "That (a research project) comes directly out of, or partly out of, my own experience as being...a very upper middle class white student, ...tutoring primarily minority poverty level ABE students...and just having my values sort of turned upside down..."

> "...my interest has drawn me to this because I have experienced some of these things myself and I have been fortunate enough to have the opportunity to do the renewal and retraining..."

> "...I want to look at it in a new way so that the church can get over its terrible guilt by association. I had better insight into what it means to be a Christian, so I am pursuing that. Of course, that is a personal kind of pursuit but you see, it informs my research at a very basic kind of level..."

Practice, and questions about one's practice are constant sources of research topics. But these practice issues are not simply inanimate, disembodied issues. They are real, compelling, and very personal. Referring to her dissertation topic, one doctoral student who is also a practitioner commented:

> "...so for me it is a chance of making some sense of some things that I have been involved with for a long time and in some ways I would hope putting it a little bit more to rest than it has been up to this point."

GENDER AND RESEARCH

For the male researchers I interviewed, gender was not seen as a major consideration in influencing ones research. This is not surprising when one understands that the field of adult education is male-dominated: professors are male, and the largest proportion of adult education graduate students are female.

It seemed to me that even the women I interviewed did not always see gender as a relevant consideration in describing the research experience, although it was not until the end of my interviews that I became sensitized to my own inattention to gender as a possible and significant factor in the world of adult education knowledge development and production.

How does gender affect research in our field? This young, newly appointed, untenured female professor probably speaks to the experiences of many women researchers:

> "...I have had people warn me that looking at women's education or women's learning might not be perceived as legitimate or as significant as other topics that I might explore...So, you make some compromises in terms of what your own interests might be and what is perceived as important within the academic environment."

Butterwick, Collard, Gray and Kastner (1990) in their presentation at the 1990 CASAE meetings, give voice to their feelings about the male domination and power in the field:

> "I have learned that there are some secret and sacred rules and assumptions operating in education: Don't say what you feel; there is no room for passion in scholarship. And more: The differential treatment of the contributions of women and men is acceptable; the rules of male discourse...and presentation prevail, and; women's approaches to knowledge generation are inferior to men's." (p.61)

SELECTING RESEARCH METHODS

Our own emotions and sense of who we are can have a real impact on the very research approaches and methods we select. In several cases, those whom I interviewed referred to this person-method fit. Some of the issues raised can be understood in light of the current shift in preference for 'qualitative methods'.

> "Towards the end of my stay at (a large university)...they brought on three qualitative researchers... And I said, 'Yeah, this puts another angle onto research'...then, all of a sudden this breath of fresh air kind of cut through factor analysis. Grappling with (factor analysis) was not engaging me in wanting to do much research."

> "(a colleague) has continually told me, 'Why do you struggle with quantitative research when you are essentially a qualitative person?'. But I didn't know what that meant and if I did know what it meant, I didn't know what to do with it."

> "If I think of the people that I know quite well...I think there is a great deal of congruence between their research and their writing and who they are as a person."

Her commitment to practice directed this graduate student and practitioner to choose qualitative methods:

> "I want to engage with people ...in a fairly human, normal, collegial exchange, kind of way, and some of the approaches that...I would have to deal with them if I use other strategies are ones that I am simply not willing to undertake for the purpose of getting my dissertation. It goes way back to many years ago when I worked as a research assistant for people whose methodologies I felt were horribly inappropriate for rural (areas) and I will never participate in anything of this sort again."

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Making a difference, or being concerned about how one's work will be judged is a passionate, and very personal issue for many of the researchers interviewed, and affects the way they carry out their research. The 'invisible college' seemed to be peering over their shoulders.

> "If I ...had done just pure research and writing ...I would probably have been more productive. Hopefully I will be measured in a broader way..."

> "Each time I'd write something I would think, 'This is such a great piece, this will turn the world around in its opinion of (me)."

> "(contributing to research) means that other people would find in what I write or research something that helps them understand what is happening in their areas of interest, that it illuminates some aspect of adult learning..."

RESEARCH AS LIFE AND LOVE

Being 'intimate' with one's work, struggling with it as one does life, characterized the experiences of some researchers:

> "The struggles I have had, and the upheavals, the doubts, the high experiences, I think are all part and parcel of what helps us advance."

An untenured assistant professor, who was soon facing tenure, and who had a love for philosophical discourse, told me:

> "The frustrating thing about this whole thing, Morris, is this. I really see a need and love for this stuff, the way I approach everything. But then, I am saying what's an outlet for me in this field? Where is my outlet? You know, I have been forced to (focus only on getting things published to meet tenure requirements)."

RESEARCH AND IDENTITY

Interviewees often referred to their research as an important part of their own self-identity. Speaking about the stages in his becoming a researcher, an assistant professor said:

> "There was this part that was clearly a part of the self-concept of any young professor, of being published and having a distinct research agenda, something that was my own."

A female full professor, a long-time observer of research in and out of universities, commented:

> "For people whose research is separated from what they do in their daily life, I think it is unfortunate...they have to live with a kind of schizophrenia that many of them are unconscious of...I don't feel alienated from what I do because I don't separate out what I do from my everyday existence..."

RESEARCH AND VALUES

Ones very values can have an impact on one's research, and often these two are very much interrelated. One young associate professor told of his switch from quantitative to qualitative research in this way:

> "There was a profound change of values too, like I can't quite explain what brought this on, but a raising of consciousness perhaps-issues of meaning were really the ones that I was most interested in. Now...for me anyway, the questions of meaning are the most important and that grab my attention most, and I can defend the easiest."
>
> "I began, and still am somewhat sceptical of the value of research and how it fits in with my values, and what I see myself doing with my life."

RECOGNIZING AND ACCEPTING RESEARCH AS A PERSONAL PROCESS

Talking about research as personal process is almost a contradiction in terms. We do our very best to remove subjectivity and personal bias from our work. Yet,it is quite clear that whether or not one espouses a naturalistic or positivistic paradigm, the human element is integral to our work. The issue is not how to reduce or exclude subjective bias but how to incorporate it into our research and our teaching.

One response is to be cautious about the extent of our generalizations, and to have a healthy respect and cynicism for what we "see." Not only faculty, but graduate students need to understand the limits of an imperfect research system. Situated knowing comes to replace universal knowledge.

A second response is to acknowledge the arrogance with which we as researchers have come to assume that we are the generators and keepers of truth and knowledge. Here, a healthy dose of humility is in order. As Apps(1972) has reminded us some time ago, the empirical viewpoint is only one of a number of ways of understanding. Certainly, investigators such as Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule(1986) and Gilligan(1982) have forcibly brought to our attention the gender-situated nature of knowing.

A third consideration is to broaden our definition as to what research is all about. Some of the first research texts in education to incorporate a broader definition of research were in adult education(Long, 1980, Merriam and Simpson, 1984).

A fourth response is to fully acknowledge the very personal nature of systematic enquiry, and to celebrate it rather than deny it. It would be wonderful if both instructors and students completed their research courses with a sense of wonder and joy. It is very possible for students to feel excited about mutual discovery and the sharing multiple realities. Much has to do with the way in which we convey and instruct research courses and facilitate faculty and student research.

A fifth, and potentially the most powerful response is to regard research as personal growth, discovery, and empowerment and to join those with whom I have talked in sharing the joy, the excitement of seeing new things through new and naive eyes. As Allender(1986) points out:

"...the personal process under discussion requires responsible, personal inquiry that by its nature entails risk and has the potential for significant self development. This kind of research fosters personal growth and learning for the researcher as well as everyone else involved in the learning process."(p.185)

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Learning Processes as They Occur in Groups: A Comparison

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Abstract

The authors intention was to determine whether groups who appear different in make-up might utilize similar learning processes. They facilitated two groups of women convened for different purposes, Their learning processes were examined using a list of learning processes developed by the authors.

Cet article a pour but d'analyser les genres de procédés d'apprentissage dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche dont l'objectif est d'étudier les stratégies cognitives de deux groupes de femmes: des mères célibataires et des professionnelles, dans l'acquisition de connaissance à l'aide d'une liste conçue par les femmes auteurs.

Introduction

Do different groups of learners utilize different learning processes? This paper explores this question by examining two groups of women who lead different lives and who convened as groups for differing purposes, one as a support group and the other to enhance the self-directed learning capabilities of professionals.

To address the question the authors adopted a list of learning processes noted by Virginia Griffen (available from the authors). The list contains learning processes undertaken by the individual, within the group and/or in the larger community. These learning processes are not classroom strategies; they relate to personal beliefs and internal changes required of the individual in order to learn.

This examination of the data is in retrospect. Because of this we cannot return to the participants to confirm our conclusions. Griffen (1988) states that learning processes are internal to the learner and cannot be observed. However, in both groups the intention was to focus on internal processes during the discussion.

Because of the methodology utilized and the topic itself, only tentative conclusions can be drawn. In the authors' view, the exercise retains value by illuminating the possibility that groups of learners with differing characteristics, in this case two groups of women, might utilize similar learning processes.

The Single Parent Support Group

The single parent support group originated on the incentive of a core group of single mothers and one co-author of this paper. The purpose of the group meeting was for mutual support in the dynamics of single parenting. The group has met twice monthly for over a year with an average attendance of nine women. One meeting a month was designated as "open" for sharing and discussion: the otner was formatted around a specific topic of interest or presentations by guest speakers. A typical member would be 26 years old, have two children, grade 10 education, be on Social Assistance and single for 3 years.

Group dynamics,which to some degree may affect learning processes, were fluid and open: members entered and exited according to their needs. The research of learning processes was based on participant observation and follow-up interviews with group members. A core group of eight women provided the primary data for the comparative research.

Allowing for the normal group process of "forming", the participants demonstrated an ability to keep centered. Individual members would comment on the meaning issues raised for them: this drew further comments from others on their views of the topic. The women displayed acceptance for comments offered by other people. Active listening and requests for clarification and validation were observed.

Despite the existence of negative life factors, an element of good self-esteem in members was present. Discussions revealed that these women were sure of themselves within the group. Comments were not offered with apologies but as a reflection of their own experiences. These comments were often prefaced by "I believe, I see, I think".

The responsibility of owning perceptions and the ability to clarify ideas/thought processes demonstrates an individual learning process and contains an element of risk. Some of the risk-taking related to dealing with the ambiguity of messages these women received from the larger community about their single parent female status. Trying new skills (articulating ideas), behaviors and ways of being (taking responsibility for self and ideas) is a complex expression of individual and group learning processes.

Shedding old perspectives was a process observed in the women within the safety of the group. The process of validating their experiences within paternalistic social structures assisted these women to divest themselves of stigmas associated with the structures. The women said the group had helped them gain perspective, and to feel safe in the ownership of their own perceptions and to articulate them.

Spiralled within these dynamics was an emergent sense of what legitimate knowledge was. Discussion occurred regarding experts who attempted to define the needs and capabilities of single parent females: the women recognized that many structures for assistance were created by "non-knowing" people. This was a definite process of learning for these women - to know that they had special knowledge the community needed to understand and to shed old perspectives about single parent females. The ability to identify the legitimacy of their knowledge resulted in a demonstration of being able to identify, classify and put new knowledge into forms that fit their individual learning styles. As well, new perspectives and validation of their knowledge were reinforced by the group.

The ability to share and validate within the group appeared to strengthen the ownership of skills and abilities and provided new perspectives for group members regarding their knowledge. New behaviors contributed to group development and solidarity yet did not force an exclusive nature of the group. New members were willingly recruited and sensitivity was shown to their needs. This willingness to move out into the community, to surface their needs and knowledge demonstrated an increase in their collective and public self-esteem from the beginnings of the group.

These women were able to own parts of the organization that reflected their strengths and therefore help the group develop structurally. The facilitator was never at a loss to find members to phone, organize, record and so forth. The processes were evident in the ability to clarify what they needed from the group. This clarification became more in-depth and better articulated by the individuals as their involvement with the group grew. As well, this process served to coalesce members around common issues of concern and how to approach them.

The critical analysis skills evidenced through verbalization activities were often followed by reflective silences. When I explored these silences with the women most said they were trying to structure new ideas and information into their minds and to systematically examine the ideas within the context of their experience. Often topics would resurface after several weeks. The members described a process of "taking the pieces apart and trying to put them back together again in terms of self, family, community and systems (social services)". The struggle with content was often an individual issue, but through discussion it was clarified. This was often done by members rephrasing and using metaphors which contained a high degree of abstraction, combining cognitive and affective learning domains.

The comment which best described the learning which occurred within the group was, "It is surprising what we have in us if we only let ourselves believe that what we know is real and has real value. Maybe that only happens when we share it with others."

The Enhancing Group

The "Enhancing Group" was convened at the initiative of two researchers at the University of Calgary in the Spring of 1989 (Baskett and Hill, 1990). Invitations were sent to 60 professionals in human resource development and adult education. Seven registered, two of whom had responsibilities in staff development, one was a college continuing education manager, one a senior instructor at a vocational college who also had responsibilities for staff development, two were private consultants and one was a government consultant. Ages ranged from 35 to 52 with a median of 43.

In comparison with the members of the single parent support group these were well educated women; one held a Ph.D., three held masters degrees and three held bachelors degrees. Of the latter three, two were involved in masters programs. As well, the average income was significantly higher for the "Enhancing Group."

The Enhancing Group met for a total of 24 hours, beginning with a day and a half session and followed by three weekly four hour periods. These were the formally planned sessions facilitated by the researchers; there were also several informal meetings initiated by the participants once the formal sessions were complete.

With the exception of the first day, a formal agenda was not planned. A "resource menu" was prepared from which participants selected topics. They were also encouraged to suggest other topics that were of interest to them. Each session consisted of some formal material facilitated either by the researchers or one of the participants and extended periods of reflection about the material and the impact this would have on the participants' professional and personal lives.

Although the emphasis was on enhancing the learning capabilities of individual professionals, the participants worked together as a group and used the group as a sounding board, as a testing ground, for comparison and as a source of encouragement. The purpose was not to form a support group nor to deal with personal issues, yet learning intersected all aspects of the learners lives. The atmosphere created was safe enough that participants were able to discuss both personal and professional issues in relation to how they learned. Interestingly, personal and professional issues did not appear to be discrete from each other, but rather interacted and affected each other. (See Baskett (1991) for further discussion).

Data was collected by participant observation, by asking participants to keep a learning journal which they would be willing to share with the researchers and by follow-up interviews six months after the formal sessions were completed (Baskett and Hill, 1990). In this article the data is being reexamined in view of a list of learning processes adapted by the authors from the work of Virginia Griffen. These learning processes will differ somewhat from those developed by Baskett (1991), although overlap will occur.

Many researchers have noted that keeping centered and maintaining self-esteem is an important part of learning, engendered by the necessity of letting go of certainty in order to make room for new learning. This can be very exciting as well as frightening. It would be tempting to assume that since the group assembled consisted of professional, accomplished women that self-esteem would not be an issue to any great extent. The extent to which this was an issue varied from person to person, but there was evidence to indicate that group members struggled with self-esteem issues.

During the group sessions a lot of laughter, fun and sharing occurred. All members took responsibility for helping the group to develop. People were very open about themselves and much sharing of personal applications of the material covered occurred. Reflection became an important part of each of the sessions as the women struggled to incorporate and apply new learning into their established thinking and methodologies.

Retaining responsibility for themselves was also necessary to group development. The members of this group were mature enough to realize that no one could do the work of self-examination for them. Nevertheless, they were able to rely on each other for support as they struggled with confusion and ambiguity. We were engaged in work in which there could be no "right answer", no objective way to measure whether they had progressed.

One of the ways that members processed the material we were learning was to take ideas home and immediately test them either on themselves or in workshops they were developing and facilitating. Since the participants were all involved in developing and presenting programs there were opportunities for them to apply materials almost immediately. This provided an opportunity for "praxis" in which one acts, reflects, and acts in a spiralling learning process. In this context, learning was augmented by the opportunity to reflect in dialogue with colleagues who shared similar concerns.

Many of the women needed to rediscover their strengths and to revalue them. This occurred as they examined their reactions to events in the sessions and also because members of the groups would point out characteristics in the others that they valued. Along with the need to revalue their strengths was the struggle to let go of outdated ideas and perspectives. These seemed to have to do with "I'm not good at" or "I can't". Some of the women seemed to doubt the validity of their learning styles despite their accomplishments and qualifications. It is not common practice to examine one's own learning and these women seemed to be affirmed by the opportunity.

In order to learn one must also be able to redefine what legitimate knowledge consists of and what sources of knowledge one is prepared to accept. One of the struggles that these women had was to legitimize learning from their own experiences. All of them had extensive experience with formalized learning in university degree programs, yet their own experience was a rich source of information. They were able to explore them in the Enhancing Group because experience as a source of knowledge was moved to the center of our concerns during groups sessions.

Conclusion

The authors' comparison revealed that similar learning processes occurred in two dissimilar groups of women. Dialogue and sharing were necessary to learning for both groups. Reflection, the utilization of silences as well as the need to take concepts and apply them, seemed to be common to both groups. There was the need to cycle back to themes from previous weeks as the women struggled to let go of outdated perspectives and incorporate new ones. The women integrated their personal lives with the issues discussed and processed with new learning by relating ideas to their personal situations.

Would the results have been the same with mixed gender groups? Secondly, would these learning processes have been similar if the groups were grappling exclusively with content matter (instead of individual, groups and community or social concerns)? Lastly, did the fact that the groups were facilitated by people the women likely viewed as more expert in the issues that were discussed and in organizational processes have an impact?

At the most basic level, the results have reinforced the need to continually reflect on our assumptions and practices as adult educators. The tendency is to program on the basis of assumptions regarding the sophistication of learners based on their socioeconomic backgrounds, education and gender. As a result, we must be alert to the processes occurring in groups. The issue of experiences of adult learners and impact on learning is also sometimes neglected as we become increasingly secure with techniques and methodologies. These women experienced the legitimation of their knowledge and from this were able to move further into more complex actions of trying new skills and behaviours. The approval of legitimate knowledge and its method of origination (self-directedness) must make us mindful not to fall into the role of playing experts.

The tentative conclusions the authors' have reached in this paper bear a strong resemblance to work of Belenkey et al (1986) and this requires further exploration. It would also be interesting to explore whether our findings are gender specific. In conclusion, this retrospective research has raised many questions that require further research to answer.

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LA PENSÉE CRITIQUE A-T-ELLE UN SEXE?

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Résumé: En tant qu'objet d'étude dans le domaine de l'éducation, la pensée critique fut plutôt négligée et réservée à une tranche limitée de la population adulte, soit les étudiants du niveau diplômé, et plus spécifiquement, les hommes. Cet exposé vise à présenter ce qui se dégage de la littérature sur la pensée critique par rapport aux femmes afin d'explorer les implications pédagogiques en milieu universitaire.

Abstract: As a field of study in education, critical thinking was until recently somehow neglected and mostly restricted to a particular segment of the adult population, the graduate students and more specifically male students. This paper attempts to review the literature on this theme as it pertains to women in order to explore pedagogical implications within the university setting.

INTRODUCTION: NOTION DE DIFFÉRENCE

Le titre de cette réflexion évoque nécessairement le thème des différences entre les sexes. La notion de différence provoque des réactions parfois dichotomiques si nous croyons qu'il n'existe pas de différences significatives entre les femmes et les hommes ou encore si nous croyons que tout s'explique et se comprend à la lumière des différences sexuelles. La question des différences occupe ici une place importante puisque les femmes se définissent non seulement en fonction de leurs similitudes avec les hommes mais également par leurs différences avec ces derniers. Ce sont les différences qui donnent aux femmes leur identité de femme à l'intérieur de la culture masculine (Schaef, 1981). Sans porter de jugements de valeur sur les différences, il importe de montrer ce qui se dégage de la littérature sur la pensée critique et les femmes afin de cerner la réalité des femmes en milieu universitaire et les répercussions possibles sur la pratique pédagogique. Ainsi, qu'est-ce qui favorise le développement d'une pensée critique? Le processus est-il le même pour les femmes et pour les hommes? Quel est l'impact du modèle culturel sur le développement et sur l'expression de la pensée critique? Ces questions sont ici abordées sous l'angle de la spécificité des sexes dans le but d'amorcer une réflexion sur les facteurs qui influencent le développement de la pensée critique chez les femmes.

Le Système Blanc Masculin[1]: un «modèle culturel appauvrissant»[2]?

Selon Schaef (1981), les femmes sont *dans* la culture mais ne sont pas *de* la culture. Cela implique que les femmes vivent et se développent dans une culture qui leur est étrangère. Le Système Blanc Masculin impose un modèle culturel précis qui, ne tenant pas forcément compte des réalités et des expériences des femmes, risque de devenir un modèle culturel appauvrissant pour les femmes. En effet, tout système qui impose des paramètres restrictifs à ses membres ne reconnait pas les pistes alternatives de développement des divers groupes qui vivent à l'intérieur du système. Le système actuel, marqué par la masculinité, prescrit des normes et des standards qui taisent fréquemment les expériences divergentes en les qualifiant de déficientes par opposition à la norme établie. Des auteures telles que Schaef (1981), Gilligan (1982), Miller (1976) et Belenky et al. (1986) contribuent grandement à l'élaboration du «Système Féminin» en étudiant et en proposant de nouvelles pistes de développement qui reflètent plus judicieusement la réalité des femmes, notamment sur les plans du développement psychosocial, de la moralité et de l'évolution intellectuelle. Selon Schaef (1981), tous les éléments de la société sont imprégnés du Système Blanc Masculin. C'est la raison pour laquelle des concepts tels que la croissance intellectuelle et la pensée critique sont profondément ancrées dans les normes masculines. L'expérience des femmes ne cadre pas nécessairement avec les attentes du Système Blanc Masculin ce qui peut expliquer leur difficulté à répondre aux critères établis quant à la pensée critique conventionnelle.

La pensée critique: contextualisation et encadrement conceptuel

Affirmer que la société est marquée par la masculinité, c'est aussi reconnaître que les institutions mises sur pied par la société sont également marquées par la masculinité. De fait, le caractère masculin de l'éducation fut étudié et confirmé par plusieurs auteures (Descarries-

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[1] Le Système Blanc Masculin est décrit par Schaef (1981) comme étant le système patriarcal où l'homme blanc détient le pouvoir. Selon l'auteure, ce système est souvent mépris pour la réalité absolue à savoir que le monde ne peut être autre que ce qu'il est présentement. Le Système Blanc Masculin contrôle tous les aspects de notre culture soit les lois, l'économie, les décisions, l'éducation, etc. Ce système détermine ce qui constitue une connaissance et la façon de transmettre les connaissances. Schaef souligne qu'il existe d'autres systèmes à l'intérieur de notre culture tels que le Système Noir, le Système Autochtone et le Système Féminin mais ces systèmes sont mis à l'écart et ne sont pas reconnus comme étant valides.

[2] Expression empruntée à Gérard Artaud dans: L'adulte en quête de son identité, 1985.

Bélanger, 1980; Solar, 1985; Spender, 1985; Gaskell et al., 1989). «Dire que l'éducation est essentiellement masculine, c'est dire qu'elle est définie, conçue, planifiée, orientée et gérée par des hommes» (Solar, 1985: 277). Dans une telle perspective, quel sont les paramètres, les composantes, les caractérisques de la pensée critique? Y-a-t'il alors des différences sexuelles dont il faudrait tenir compte dans la pratique pédagogique?

Selon Candy (1990), la pensée critique relève du domaine des compétences intellectuelles et s'avère une habileté cognitive d'ordre supérieur que les adultes peuvent développer non seulement dans un contexte académique mais dans le contexte plus large de la vie quotidienne. Selon cet auteur, la pensée critique excède l'art de poser des questions car elle se définit par un ensemble de dispositions, d'attitudes, d'habitudes et de traits de personnalité qui, rassemblés, forment un esprit critique. La littérature sur ce thème suggère que la pensée critique permettrait à l'adulte d'exercer un meilleur contrôle sur sa vie en élevant son niveau de conscience en ce qui a trait aux postulats qui gouvernent les modes de pensée et l'interprétation des réalités. Brookfield (1989) identifie quatre composantes principales qui caractérisent la pensée critique: 1) identifier et défier les postulats, 2) l'importance accordée à la contextualisation, 3) l'exploration d'alternatives et, 4) la réflexion sceptique.

Les femmes et la pensée critique

Le caractère masculin de l'éducation a donné naissance à des concepts et à des théories qui émergent de l'expérience masculine. Le besoin de réinterpréter des notions théoriques en tenant compte de l'expérience des femmes prend toute sa signification lorsqu'on veut, d'une part, critiquer la tradition dominante et, d'autre part, inclure les femmes dans toutes les sphères du domaine académique. À cause de leurs expériences socio-culturelles différentes, les femmes et les hommes empruntent des modes différents pour penser et interpréter les réalités (Gilligan, 1982; Belenky et al., 1986, Smith, 1987). Belenky et ses collègues (1986) proposent cinq perspectives épistémologiques qui caractériseraient la croissance intellectuelle chez les femmes. Elles se répartissent comme suit: 1) silence - les femmes de cette catégorie se perçoivent comme n'ayant pas de parole ou de pensée, 2) «received knowledge» - les femmes se perçoivent comme étant capables de recevoir des connaissances venant de sources extérieures, 3) «subjective knowledge» - les femmes perçoivent la vérité et la connaissance de façon intuitive et personnelle, 4) «procedural knowledge» - les femmes apprennent à appliquer des procédures systématiques et objectives pour communiquer la connaissance, et 5) «constructed knowledge» - les femmes se perçoivent comme étant des créatrices du savoir; c'est l'intégration des voix. (Brookes, 1988; Merriam, 1988).

La recherche de Belenky et al. (1986) auprès de 135 femmes suggère que les femmes éprouveraient des difficultés à être critique et que la majorité d'entre elles préférerait opérer dans un mode subjectif. La question devient alors la suivante: pourquoi les femmes rencontrent-elles ces difficultés? Est-ce que les femmes ont la même expérience du concept de critique? Peut-on postuler l'existence d'un mode féminin et d'un mode masculin de la pensée critique? Voici trois éléments de réponses qui pourront servir de piste de réflexion à ce sujet.

1) Éléments généraux de conditionnement dans la socialisation des filles: le souci de plaire en exemple

Selon Claudie Solar (1985), la formation professionnelle des filles ne valorise pas le développement ni d'une pensée critique ni de l'individualité. La socialisation des filles encourage le comportement de plaire beaucoup plus que celui de remettre en question ou de critiquer. Cet élément de conditionnement soulève alors la question du rapport avec l'autorité comme pouvant agir à titre de barrière à l'exercice de la pensée critique chez les femmes. Selon O'Neill (1989), si l'individu ressent le besoin de plaire à l'autorité pour son propre sentiment de sécurité personnelle, le questionnement de la validité des arguments ou des conclusions d'un-e auteur-e ou d'un-e professeur-e peut alors devenir une entreprise difficile et même menaçante pour la personne. Selon l'auteur, cette réticence à questionner l'autorité est associée au stade de développement intellectuel de la personne qui serait aux prises avec la pensée dualiste et percevrait l'autorité comme étant «the keeper of truth». Ainsi, le besoin d'approbation extérieure et de validation de type parental peut nuire au développement et à l'expression de la pensée critique.

Puisque la pensée dualiste caractérise l'orientation épistémologique «received knowledge» (Belenky et al., 1986), est-ce que seules les femmes qui ont dépassé cette catégorie sont alors capables de pensée critique? Et même, devront-elles s'être redéfinies à l'extérieur des paramètres du modèle culturel masculin de développement afin de ne plus dépendre des hommes pour valider leur identité (Schaef, 1981)? «White women believe that they get their identity externally from the White Male System and that the White Male System is necessary to validate that identity. Therefore, challenging the system becomes almost impossible. There is a direct correlation between buying into the White Male System and surviving in our culture» (Schaef, 1981: 5). De façon générale, les hommes représentent «l'autorité» dans notre société et le milieu académique n'échappe pas à cette perception. Le souci de plaire et d'être acceptées à l'intérieur du système masculin peut donc nuire au développement de la pensée critique chez les femmes en milieu universitaire.

2) *Le centre de l'univers chez les femmes: les relations*

Selon son analyse du Système Féminin, Schaef (1981) préconise que le centre de l'univers chez les femmes est d'ordre relationnel. «In the White Male System, the center of the universe is the self and work. Everything else must go through, relate to, and be *defined* by the self and the work. In the Female System, however, the center of the universe is relationships. Everything else must go through, relate to, and be *defined* by relationships» (Schaef, 1981: 108). Dans le modèle traditionnel, la pensée critique exige un détachement de l'objet dans le but de pouvoir mieux l'évaluer. Au coeur de la pensée critique se trouve le processus de séparation d'avec l'objet ou ce que Peter Elbow nomme le «doubting game» (Elbow dans Belenky et al., 1986). Par contre, le pivot de la socialisation des filles est l'affiliation c'est-à-dire les relations humaines, les rapports et les rapprochements (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976; Chodorow, 1978). Comment arriver alors à penser de façon critique lorsque la formation mène au rapprochement avec l'objet pour mieux le comprendre? «Women find it hard to see doubting as a "game"; they tend to take it personally. Teachers and fathers and boyfriends assure them that arguments are not between *persons* but between *postions* but the women continue to fear that someone may get hurt» (Belenky et al., 1986: 105).

Le rapprochement avec l'objet fait appel à des méthodes ou à des habiletés différentes de la séparation d'avec l'objet. Au coeur de cette approche se trouve la capacité d'empathie. Le but est de comprendre en tentant de saisir l'expérience vécue par l'autre. Elbow (1986) nomme cette procédure le «believing game» et il précise que cette approche est plus facile pour les femmes que pour les hommes. Il poursuit en spécifiant que pour les femmes, croire, par opposition à douter de l'autre, répond davantage à ce que les femmes sont comme êtres socialisés. Le principe autour duquel s'organise la vie des femmes est celui de *faire* pour les autres (Miller, 1976) et les filles sont socialisées dès leur jeune âge à se définir en relation aux autres (Chodorow, 1978). La notion de «prendre soin» est en quelque sorte l'héritage culturel des femmes.

En identifiant les variables associées au développement psychosocial des femmes, il faut noter que le fait de se développer par un processus d'affiliation plutôt que par un processus de séparation rend plus difficile de douter de l'autre, ce que la pensée critique traditionnelle exige. Cette constatation permet également de suggérer que l'absence de «care» accordé à l'ojet critiqué peut avoir un impact sur la capacité d'exercer une pensée critique. La pensée empathique permettrait aux femmes de mettre en valeur le type de vérité qu'elles valorisent soit une vérité personnelle et particulière qui trouve ses racines dans l'expérience vécue (Belenky et al., 1986).

3) *La parole des femmes: de l'autre côté du silence*

La critique féministe à l'égard de la culture et de la société a démontré que les femmes sont privées de parole dans plusieurs sphères, y compris la sphère académique. On peut alors se poser la question de l'impact de cet état de mutisme sur la formation de la pensée critique chez les femmes. À travers les époques, les femmes ont été privé d'espace et de temps pour exprimer leurs pensées, leurs opinions, leurs théories et les multiples réalités liées à leur vécu de femmes. Le silence fut imposé aux femmes par l'entremise de plusieurs mécanismes, entre autres, l'exclusion des femmes de l'Église, l'incapacité juridique, le fait de ne pouvoir exercer son droit de vote ou de siéger sur un jury et la non-inclusion des femmes comme sujets de recherche. Hooks (1984) suggère qu'en tant que groupe, les femmes ont été privées de leur droit à l'épanouissement intellectuel. «Most women are deprived of access to modes of thought that promote the kind of critical and analytical understanding necessary for liberation struggle» (Hooks, 1984: 113). Le fait d'être privées de ce privilège contribue à l'insécurité que vivent beaucoup de femmes face au travail intellectuel. Les femmes ont dû se regrouper pour se donner une voix collective et aussi pour s'approprier leur parole individuelle. Dale Spender (1980) nous fait remarquer que le langage que la société utilise pour communiquer est un langage construit par les hommes et de ce fait ne reflète pas adéquatement l'expérience des femmes. Spender prétend que les femmes parlent un langage emprunté ce qui contribue à encourager leur dépendance envers les hommes. Si le point de départ dans l'acte de connaître est l'expérience personnelle, ne faut-il pas reconnaître que cette expérience varie grandement d'un individu à un autre et même d'un sexe à l'autre? La parole est un des outils qui permet le prolongement et l'expression de la pensée. Si les femmes ne perçoivent pas qu'elles ont l'espace et le temps pour s'exprimer ou encore si elles sont désavantagées soit par le langage masculin soit par leur socialisation ou leurs expériences, le milieu universitaire se doit d'en tenir compte et de prendre des mesures visant à corriger cette situation.

CONCLUSION: LES RÉPERCUSSIONS SUR LA PRATIQUE PÉDAGOGIQUE

Cet exposé n'a fait qu'aborder brièvement quelques aspects de la pensée critique sous l'angle de la spécificité des sexes. Il est évident qu'un tel sujet mériterait une recherche beaucoup plus complète avant de tirer des conclusions. Néanmoins, il est possible de suggérer que la pensée critique a un sexe dans la mesure où l'on reconnait l'omniprésence du Système Blanc Masculin et son impact sur la formation des concepts en éducation. Le milieu universitaire doit être davantage sensibilisé à l'expérience féminine du concept de critique afin de ne pas négliger l'importance de la socialisation des sexes sur la performance académique et sur les critères d'évaluation. Est-ce que l'atmosphère épistémologique qui règne dans la salle de classe est propice pour faciliter la croissance intellectuelle et le développement de la pensée critique chez les femmes dont la formation initiale et la socialisation ont peut-être nuit à leur développement? C'est Brookfield (1989) qui suggère que tout adulte peut bénéficier de la pensée critique pour améliorer sa qualité de vie et pour exercer un meilleur contrôle sur sa vie. Pour les femmes, la pensée critique est beaucoup plus qu'une compétence intellectuelle à acquérir, elle est un outil indispensable pour contrer et briser le cycle de l'oppression qui résulte de la société patriarcale.

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THE EFFECT OF LITERACY ON INCOME AND DURATION OF EMPLOYMENT

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Une analyse de classification multiple a été servi pour déterminer l'effet net du degré d'alphabétisation sur le revenu et le nombre de semaines travaillées, après avoir dominé pour l'effet de genre, d'industrie et d'occupation. Les modestes profits de revenu s'accumulèrent aux plus forts instruits, tandis que les revenus des ouvriers à basse instruction étaient diminués dû à leur manque d'habileté de degré d'alphabétisation. De la même façon, de hauts niveaux de degré d'alphabétisation n'ont pas avantagé les ouvriers en ce qui concerne le nombre de semaines de travail. Il y avait une association entre les plus bas niveaux de degré d'alphabétisation et une réduction d'emploi. Les résultats soutiennent la conclusion tentative que le degré d'alphabétisation est un déterminant pour la durée d'emploi, mais non pas un niveau de revenu.

Multiple classification analysis was used to examine the net effect of literacy on income and number of weeks worked, after controlling for the effects of gender, industry and occupation. Modest income benefits accrued to the most highly literate, while lower literate workers' incomes were diminished due to their lack of literacy skills. Similarly, high levels of literacy did not greatly advantage workers in terms of number of weeks worked. Lower levels of literacy were strongly associated with reduced employment. The results support the tentative conclusion that literacy itself is a determinant of employment duration but not of level of income.

In October 1989 Statistics Canada conducted a national survey of the Canadian labour force to assess the functional reading, writing and numeracy skills of the adult population. The data from the "Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities", (Statistics Canada 1990) comprises a national, representative data set allowing for the first time an investigation of the relationships among categories of functional literacy, levels of academic achievement, labour market activity and personal and family characteristics of adults. This paper reports the early findings of a study to explore the effects of literacy on income and labour market participation.

One of the major justifications for adult literacy education, formulated within the human capital investment perspective is that technological change and the post-industrial economy has created an urgent national demand for a more highly literate work force. Paring this rationale for adult literacy education to its core, the following premise can be examined. Workers will be hired, retained and paid on the basis of their literacy skills regardless of other socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, nativity and ethnicity. If this basic premise holds true equity of access to employment and increased earnings for the undereducated will be greatly enhanced by improving their levels of functional literacy.

Accordingly an analysis of the Statistics Canada (1990) survey data should reveal no differences, after controlling for the effects of gender, industry and occupation, in duration of employment and income between workers with different levels of functional literacy.

Sample, Methodology and Study Variables

Because of the constraints experienced in utilizing Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) (SPSS, 1988) a satisfactory multi-variate analysis including all of the influential variables has not yet been concluded.[1] The sample for this study includes only those Canadian born respondents who had been employed for some time during the twelve month period preceding data collection. The original 13 categories of industries were collapsed to nine and the number of occupations was reduced from 31 to 15 by excluding eight professional groups and collapsing others.[2]

The definition of literacy utilized in the survey was, "The information processing skills necessary to use the printed material commonly encountered at work, at home, and in the community." While the definition was applied to reading, writing and numeracy, this study is concerned solely with the reading text scores which were derived from an objective test (range 0-500, x = 247, sd = 55.7). Each person surveyed was assigned to one of four broad ability levels of functional literacy which were defined prior to data collection. The level of literacy function assigned was the highest ability level at which the person's performance was consistent. (Jones, 1990)

> "Canadians at: Level 1 have difficulty dealing with printed materials. They likely identify themselves as people who cannot read [test score <150]: Level 2 can use printed materials only for limited purposes such as finding a familiar word in a simple text. They would likely recognize themselves as having difficulties with common reading materials [150-204]: Level 3 can use reading materials in a variety of situations provided the material is simple, clearly laid out and the tasks are not too complex. While these people generally do not see themselves as having major reading difficulties, they tend to avoid situations requiring reading [205-244]: Level 4 meet most everyday reading demands. This is a large and diverse group which exhibits a wide range of reading skills [>245]." (Statistics Canada, 1990)

TABLE 1

NET EFFECT OF LITERACY LEVEL, GENDER, INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION ON INCOME AND NUMBER OF WEEKS WORKED

Literacy Level	Number	Income[1]	Weeks[2]
Level 1	126	10,800	37
Level 2	349	12,400	39
Level 3	1,116	14,500	40
Level 4	2,684	14,750	42
Beta		.06	.07
Gender			
Male	2,300	16,150	43
Female	1,975	10,400	39
Beta		.29	.10
Industry			
Agriculture & Primary	487	17,100	42
Manufacturing	709	15,700	41
Construction	265	14,500	38
Transportation	301	17,750	39
Wholesale trade	183	14,500	43
Retail trade	745	7,950	40
Finance & Bus. Servs.	421	13,800	42
Community & Res. Servs.	902	11,250	41
Public Admin.	262	17,200	41
Beta		.34	.08
Occupation			
Steno, EDP, Clerical	915	14,850	43
Sales	537	16,050	44
Protective Servs.	99	15,850	43
Food, Beverage, Hotel	370	11,250	39
Personal, Apparel, Furnish.	239	10,750	42
Other Service	224	9,500	37
Farm & Primary	442	10,100	36
Processing	235	12,950	37
Machining & Related	135	15,650	46
Electrical Electronics	55	16,000	48
Textiles, Furs, Leather	48	10,700	42
Wood products	68	11,500	42
Mechanics, Repairman	181	19,000	47
Excavating, Construction	316	14,100	40
Transport, Material Hand.	411	13,150	38
Beta		.25	.21
Grand Mean	4,275	14,500	41
R		.54	.25
R2		.29	.06

[1] Annual income after controlling for effects of gender, industry and occupation

[2] Number of weeks worked, for respondents with less than professional/technical education (n=3,136) after controlling for effects of gender, industry and occupation.

Two analyses of the effects of literacy are reported, first on income and secondly on number of weeks worked, while statistically controlling for the effects of gender, industry and occupation. Only respondents with less than a technical/professional level of education were included in the analysis on the effects of literacy on the number of weeks employed.

Results

The MCA results are summarized in Table 1. The grand mean income for the sample was $14,500. After controlling for the joint effects of gender, industry and occupation the least literate group had the lowest mean income (Level 1: $10,800) and the most highly literate group had the highest mean income (Level 4: $14,750). It is most important to note that the difference in income between literacy groups level three and four is only $250, and that the mean income of the level three group is the same as the grand mean income.

As the net effects of literacy on income are expressed as deviations from the grand mean in MCA, the results reveal that for those groups with incomes which are close to the grand mean, literacy levels have a negligible effect on income. Only for the two low literate groups does literacy demonstrate a strong effect on income that is net of the effects of gender, industry and occupation. The data supports the view that high levels of literacy return only modest income benefits while low levels of literacy "cost" workers substantial decrements in income.

The means reported for each variable category indicate the magnitude of the effect of each category within the variable. The income difference between males ($16,150) and females ($10,400) was substantial and exceeded the income difference between the most and least literate workers after controlling for the effects of gender, industry and occupation ($5,750 vs. $3,950). The large beta coefficient confirms that gender (β=.29) is a more powerful influence on income than is literacy (β =.06).

Average incomes of workers for each of the nine categories of industry ranged from $17,750 for the transportation industry to $7,950 for the retail trade. Type of industry (β =.34) was the most powerful influence on income among the three variables: gender, industry and occupation. Only retail trade and community and personal service industries had mean worker incomes below the grand mean.

Mean incomes for the fifteen occupational groups ranged from a high of $19,000 for mechanics and repairmen to a low of $9,500 for workers in other service occupations. Eight of the 15 occupations had incomes below the grand mean.

Occupation (β=.25) was the third least powerful determinant of income although it too was still a significant source of variation in income.

The grand mean number of weeks worked in the twelve month period preceding data collection was 41 weeks. Only the level 4 literacy group workers reported a longer period of average employment (42 weeks). Persons in the three lower levels of literacy worked less than the grand mean number of weeks. The illiterate group (level 1) reported working for only 37 weeks. As anticipated, males worked longer than females (43 vs 39 weeks). Many females it must be remembered were likely to have been working part time. Gender was the second most influential of the three treatment variables (β=.10).

Industry (β=.34) had a stronger influence than occupation (β=.25) on income but their influence on number of weeks worked was reversed with occupation (β=.21) being more powerful than industry (β=.08). The occupations with the highest mean number of weeks worked were electrical and electronics (48) and mechanics and repairmen (47). Those with the lowest mean number of weeks worked were farm and primary (36), processing (37) and other service occupations (37). The mean number of weeks worked reported by industry category demonstrated a narrower range with construction (38) having the least and wholesale trade (43) the highest average.

The joint effect of literacy, gender, industry and occupation on income is measured by the multiple correlation coefficient (R=.54) and the variance in income accounted for is estimated by R^2. In this case 29% of the variance in income is accounted for by all of the variables combined. With regard to the effect of literacy, gender, industry and occupation on number of weeks worked, the multiple correlation coefficient is much lower (R=.25) and the variance accounted for is only 6% (R^2=0.6). Income is more dependant upon gender, industry and occupation than is the number of weeks employed. Little difference was observed between the effects of literacy on income (β =.06) and literacy on number of weeks worked (β =.07) indicating that there is probably a strong association between income and number of weeks worked.

Conclusions

A large part of the differences in income between the literacy level groups is attributable to factors other than gender, industry and occupation. Effects attributable to other influential variables including geographic location, ethnicity and educational credentialism have not yet been determined. The net literacy differences observed however, clearly demonstrate the relative benefits directly attributable to how each literacy level group is rewarded (or disadvantaged) in the labour market.

Literacy as a vocational skill, when used as a predictor of income, does not explain variance in income equitably across the four levels of literacy (Blunt, 1991). As a characteristic of persons, however, this study confirms that literacy level is effective in differentiating between persons who derive substantial benefits from the labour market and those who do not. The study contributes support for the belief that literacy discrimination by employers functions to exclude "able" yet "unqualified" workers.

The analyses indicate that for the majority of workers there is not likely to be a significant financial benefit attributable to increased functional literacy. It is more likely, however, that additional literacy skills will enable some workers to retain their position in the labour market and possibly increase the duration of their employment.

1 Multiple classification analysis requires extremely large amounts of computer memory. The analyses reported in this paper required 10 megabytes of memory, 1,700 seconds of CPU time and an elapsed time of approximately six hours. The addition of one variable increases required memory to almost 60 megabytes.

2 Excluded from the analysis: Managers and Administrators; Life Science, Maths, Analysts; Architects, Engineers; Social Sciences; Teaching; Health.

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Graduate Student Groups for Popular Education
by
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This paper discusses a popular education group formed by graduate students at the University of Alberta. It considers some of the theoretical issues the group has encountered, describes the origins and evolution of the group, and describes a sampling of the group's activities.

Cet document discute un groupe d'education populaire qui a formé par les etudiants gradués de la Universitó d'Alberta. Il considé des questions théorique ce que le groupe sont recontré, decrit la'origine et l'évolution du groupe, et il decrit un échantillon d'activities du groupe.

New graduate students in adult education are not long discovering the truth of the oft versed observation that adult education is becoming increasingly vocationalized. Most Canadian graduate programs in adult education reflect deeply the growing imperatives of workplace education. By and large, the course offerings, opportunities for internship, and faculty interests that constitute these programs are oriented towards educating a workforce of adult education instructors/technicians who will work in technical institutes; community colleges; and, especially, corporate training departments across the nation. Program offerings in a kind of adult education that promotes social action and social change—our adult education heritage—are becoming increasingly rare. While it may be true that some students are satisfied with this state of affairs, it is our contention that many are not.

In fine, this paper proposes that (1) most Canadian graduate programs in adult education are tailored to meet the needs of the Canadian workplace; (2) the *mode* of education this promotes excludes from consideration certain traditional aspects of Canadian adult education; (3) prospective adult educators can include these traditional aspects of Canadian adult education in their programs by undertaking the practice of an *alternative mode* of adult education.

The dominant mode of education in Canadian adult education programs is one that presumes there is no difference between the logical form that knowledge takes in the natural and social sciences. The mode of education this promotes is an instrumentalist one—"it is rooted in the conviction that there are certain sets of naturally recurring generalities which can be used to achieve one's purposes by altering one set of conditions to effect another."[1] Knowledge is promoted as an object of power, and change is "engineered" by those who have the power to initiate it—the educators—*for* those who do not—the learners: "A major assumption here is that theory should contribute mastery and control of the environment through a set of deductively derived operations aimed at discovering the regularities that exist among isolated variables under study."[2] Education thus proceeds as a process of *domination*, wherein an *elite* few control the destiny of the many. The essentially *manipulative* nature of this mode of education is often defended, however, because of the utility it affords. Further defence, moreover, is often afforded by the claim that scientific inquiry and the form of knowledge it supports are value-neutral, precluding the possibility of this mode of education being used to advance the interests of any one group in society. Much has been written, however, on how education plays a crucial role in the reproduction of social practices and cultural beliefs that are essential to the continued dominance of certain groups and power structures in society.[3] The limited scope of this paper precludes the possibility of a full treatment of this debate; however, the authors' contention can be summarized as follows: while (1) the instrumentalist mode of education has a place in the programs of graduate students in adult education, (2) graduate students would benefit significantly from exposure to an alternative, non-manipulative mode of education.

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[1] Fay, B. (1977, p. 202). How people change themselves: The relationship between critical theory and its audience. In T. Ball (Ed.), *Political theory and praxis* (pp. 200-233). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

[2] Giroux, H. A. (1983, p. 177). *Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition*. Massachusetts: Bergen & Garvey.

The prospect of a non-manipulative mode of education, however, is not an unproblematic one. The goal of such a mode of education is to promote a process whereby people learn how to initiate change in their own lives. The learner, rather than the educator, is given the power to initiate change; it is a process of *empowerment*. This demands two things of educators: (1) that they adopt the role of co-learners, and (2) that they maintain a critical self-awareness throughout the process. The danger is that this awareness can easily degenerate into "a negative attitude towards competing approaches instead of its own self-critical perspective."[4] The practice of emancipatory education, therefore, must be constantly reflected upon and compared to the purposes for which it was undertaken. A vigilance must be held to avoid instrumentalist practices, for while the instrumentalist mode of education can increase the amount of knowledge available to an individual, thus increasing the power that individual has to initiate change, it does nothing to liberate the individual from the determinacy of causal relations. Educators must constantly remind themselves that in non-manipulative education "knowledge plays a role in the lives of people which is fundamentally different from that which it plays in the instrumentalist model: it doesn't increase power by informing people how to achieve their ends by getting certain causal relationships to work for them; rather, it is intended to free these people from certain causal relationships."[5] While the former offers individuals the opportunity to change to accommodate the world, the latter offers individuals the opportunity to change the world to accommodate them. In the words of Marcuse: "if 'education' is to be more than simply training for the status quo it means not only enabling man to know and understand the facts which make up reality but also to know and understand the factors that establish the facts so that he can change their inhuman reality."[6] The following describes the activities of a group of graduate students at the University of Alberta who recently embarked on just such a process. Through the practice of non-manipulative popular education, these students are choosing not only to liberate individuals from oppressive life-circumstances but also to supplement their adult education programs.

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[3] Bernstein, B. (1977). *Class, codes and control.* (Vol. 3). *Towards a theory of educational transmission* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Bourdieu, P., & Passerson, J. C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture.* Beverly Hills, California: Sage; MacDonald, M. (1977). *The curriculum and cultural reproduction.* Milton Keynes, England: Open University Press.

[4] Sabia and Wallius (1983, quoted in P. Lather. Research as Praxis. *Harvard Educational Review, 56*, 257-256).

[5] Fay (1977, p. 206). See footnote 1.

[6] Marcuse, H. (1969). Repressive tolerance. In R. P. Wolff, B. Moor, Jr., & H. Marcuse (Eds.), *A critique of pure tolerance.* Boston: Beacon Press.

The original idea for forming our student group came as the result of a weekend meeting between students at the University of Alberta and students and faculty at the University of Saskatchewan, in the fall of 1990. We attended the meeting to find out about the newly formed organization, North American Educators of Adults for Democratic Social Change, and to discuss possible ways we as students could become involved in popular education. A predominant theme that emerged in our discussions was the difficulty of gaining experience in popular education in the context of our graduate studies. Most graduate programs in adult education offer few opportunities to learn about popular education. Those opportunities that do exist are often highly abstracted from the actual contexts in which popular education occurs. Studying the emancipatory potential of adult education at university is often done very theoretically. There is little opportunity for a meaningful combination of theory and practice. This is particularly problematic for students with a political commitment to democratic social change. The technicist focus of most graduate programs in adult education provides no opportunity to develop the values and abilities needed to sensitively and responsibly engage in popular education.

We of the University of Alberta left the meeting determined to try to engender ways in which students at the University of Alberta could engage in emancipatory adult education activities within the Edmonton community. Realizing that the political nature of their commitments could not be easily accommodated by the existing adult education program, the students formed a group of their own called VIGOUR (Volunteers Integrating Grassroots Organizations with University Resources) and began to meet weekly.

Initially, the group formed around a fairly open-ended goal. We knew we wanted to engage in popular education not only to learn about it but also to contribute to our community and to the struggles of people within it. No one in the group, however, had a clear idea of what this might entail. The challenge was (1) to find out more about popular education, and (2) to discover if and where it was being practiced in the community of Edmonton. We also faced the task of learning about our community and the kinds of organizations and groups we might cooperate with. But most importantly, we confronted the problem of developing a clear sense of what we were about, so we could communicate to other groups what we might offer them.

Through our deliberation on these and other issues, and as a result of initial contacts with other organizations, we began to formulate a much clearer notion of the purpose of VIGOUR. We began with the idea that we would approach potential organizations as a group able to offer a variety of popular adult education activities. It became clear early on, though, that it would be very difficult and perhaps undesirable for the entire VIGOUR membership to be involved in every contact we might make with the community. Group members had very different interests in the ways they wanted to be involved in popular education. Some of the students were interested in learning a variety of adult education techniques, some were interested in following up on a particular approach they desired more experience in, some wished simply to contribute to positive social change. The contacted community groups, too, expressed different needs, some desired a long term organizational commitment by our group, some a short term commitment from individual group members who possessed expertise or special interest in a particular popular education activity, and some simply a little information about VIGOUR and its offerings. What became clear from all of this was that VIGOUR could provide many opportunities for a variety of graduate students to engage in a range of popular education activities. What was needed was a venue where students could come together and share their experiences, their resources, their contacts, and their difficulties.

VIGOUR remains a recognizable organization that community groups can contact and draw upon. It also remains an institution in which graduate students act collectively to learn about and carry out popular adult education activities. We do not all get directly involved in each of the popular education activities that VIGOUR is associated with. In our weekly meetings, though, we do all learn about these activities, discuss strategies, fret over problems, and offer support and additional resources. As our network of contacts grows, and as we become involved in an increasingly diverse array of popular education activities, our collective understanding of the potential of emancipatory education continues to expand. The following section offers a description of some of the actual popular education activities VIGOUR has embarked upon.

Early on, VIGOUR members decided to meet every Friday for a brown-bag lunch, to informally share experiences and focus upon emancipatory education issues. These weekly sessions allowed students the opportunity to begin the networking process, and a great deal of time during the weekly sessions was spent brainstorming. These meetings laid the ground for the Group to solidify its goals and to reach out and establish links with the community.

Within the Group there existed a variety and depth of experience. For example, students enjoyed backgrounds in organized labour, social work, popular theatre, international development, immigrant womens' groups, public school systems, womens' cooperatives, and Mexican community development projects. The Group's rich and varied experience provided not only a wide perspective on emancipatory education but also a vast array of knowledge and skills. It was not long before VIGOUR members began to draw upon their experiences to provide information and resources to each other. A popular theatre video, of Edmonton's Inner City Drama Group, was viewed and discussed by the group, as was a similar production by a Manitoban group of native women on social assistance. VIGOUR members, moreover, soon ventured outside the confines of the Group, attending a coalition meeting of University of Alberta advocacy groups. Groups, for example, expressing concern for the environment and social justice. While the coalition turned out to be mostly concerned with campus activities, they expressed interest in reaching out to the larger community as well.

As Group members began making links with community resource people, a wealth of contacts were uncovered, enhancing the opportunities for interaction and cooperation within the community. VIGOUR members drew upon their personal and professional contacts in an effort to realize their goals. Contact with community resource people took a variety of forms, including: visits to community groups, visits to work-sites, and visits to view popular-education related audio-visual materials. The following are some specific examples of how community contacts were realized. Early on, VIGOUR made contact with a leading community educator in Edmonton. Virginia is a strong supporter of emancipatory education, and has written extensively on the subject. Her practice offers immigrant women employment training in an emancipatory context, providing the opportunity to examine such things as the relation between the distribution of jobs and power in society. During a work-site visit, VIGOUR members had the opportunity to meet with Virginia. The meeting was greatly enhanced by the presence a recent graduate of Virginia's program, who now works as a program leader. The visit provided a wonderful example of how emancipatory education can be put into practice.

Another significant contact VIGOUR made was with CANDORA, a community advocacy group in a low income area of Edmonton that offered a program to prepare women on social assistance for entry or re-entry into the workforce . The name CANDORA was formed to describe what the women from the Rundle Park and Abbotsfield district of Edmonton felt they "can do" for community living and social change, hence the name "Can-do-r-a." The acronym also plays upon its resemblance to the Spanish word for "innocence," a word some of CANDORA's Latin American contingent felt expressed CANDORA's ethos. The membership of CANDORA numbered approximately 25-30 women, ranging in age from 20-60 years. If proof was needed that poverty is no respecter of age, culture, or race, it could be found at CANDORA.

VIGOUR's association with this group was intriguing. The members of CANDORA proved to be articulate, determined activists who believed strongly in a sense of community and working together. The importance they placed on community and cooperation appeared to have stemmed from the Latin American influence in the group, but was readily accepted by all members as a viable method for achieving social change and retrieving the power that had been usurped from them. Some of the projects undertaken by CANDORA include: the development of a cooperative garden outside the City, the lobbying of government workers in the social services field, the implementation of safety programs for the benefit of the community, the formation of a cooperative sewing and quilting project, and the development of an outreach program to contact community members who are hesitant to venture outside of their homes.

Initially there were reservations about becoming involved with CANDORA. Members of VIGOUR wanted to avoid imposing their values on CANDORA; moreover, they were concerned that their role be an authentic, non-judgemental and egalitarian one. In addition, Group members were fearful that a dependency might develop, wherein CANDORA might come to view VIGOUR as the panacea for all its ills. Evidence of such a possibility arose on one occasion, in fact, when a participant from CANDORA approached a former social worker now involved with VIGOUR with a personal plea for help. Fears were soon put to rest, however, once the true nature of CANDORA was revealed. An extended dialogue with CANDORA members revealed a variety of possible cooperative enterprises that VIGOUR members might become involved in. One such possibility was to help document CANDORA's history, outlining how it came into being and how it has evolved. CANDORA members expressed concern that problems had been overcome in the past but little or no record remained of how; consequently, the details of past successes could not be called upon, and fitting tribute could not be paid to the efforts of past members. A further possibility was presented to one member of VIGOUR to pursue her interest in womens' cooperatives, while another VIGOUR member was afforded an opportunity to undertake a participatory research project that might well become the subject of his thesis. And finally, the possibility arose for VIGOUR members to become involved in a popular theatre workshop with members of CANDORA. While many of these possibilities remain in latent or seminal stages, the popular theatre workshop was undertaken with great success. The experience was rewarding for CANDORA and VIGOUR members, alike. Many barriers to liberation and obstacles to emancipation were addressed and discussed in the debriefing session of this workshop.

VIGOUR members have realized that the range of possibilities for cooperation with CANDORA are limited only by their own interests, for potentialities continue to unfold as students' interests coincide with CANDORA's needs. The relationship VIGOUR enjoys with CANDORA, thus far, has been mutually beneficial. CANDORA's strength and independence, moreover, not only has minimized the possibility of inadvertent manipulation but also has proven instrumental to VIGOUR developing its own identity. In contrast to a relationship of dependency, wherein each group relied on the other for support, encouragement, and inspiration; CANDORA and VIGOUR have continued to develop independently, drawing on one another's strengths to derive mutual benefit. The benefits VIGOUR has derived are many, affording, particularly, the opportunity for students to make that crucial link to reality that most purely academic projects cannot accommodate. One immediate benefit was the opportunity for students to co-facilitate workshops in which they were both participants and resource persons. In addition, VIGOUR's cooperative ventures with CANDORA suggest a mutually beneficial link between university students and community practitioners can be forged and sustained.

It is our contention that graduate students in adult education programs can initiate non-manipulative education projects in their own communities. In so doing, students will be afforded the opportunity to supplement their programs with the experience of liberating forms of education they so often only hear of or read of. In addition, members of local community groups will be afforded the opportunity to partake in emancipatory forms of education that will foster the development of autonomous, rational action. The opportunities presented, moreover, are such that students will have the opportunity to participate in the process at many levels, as educators, as activists, as resource persons, as researchers, and perhaps most importantly, as learners.

WORKING KNOWLEDGE: RE-THINKING WOMEN'S LEARNING ABOUT WORK

Prepared by Shauna Butterwick, Adult Education, U.B.C., Nancy Jackson, Education, McGill University and Dorothy MacKeracher, Education, University of New Brunswick

Abstract: Using a critical feminist perspective, this symposium explores and challenges the conventional modes of thinking about and organizing women's work and learning for work.

C'est à partir d'un point de vue critique et féministe que ce symposium adresse le traditionalisme des pensées, des strucutres et des apprentissages se rattachant au travail de le femme.

Nancy Jackson: For most of this century, vocational learning has been represented as an unambiguous, uninteresting, but functional activity. We have been taught to think of it as unrelated to the kinds of "higher" learning we call "education", and as appropriate to different groups of people, primarily according to ability. These distinctions are integral to our sense of the value attached to learning.

From a feminist perspective, these mythologies about work and learning appear as precisely that. Whether housework or healthcare, factory work or forestry, feminists have been exploring the multi-layered reality of work and working knowledge and the highly ideological nature of popular understandings of both. We have discovered that the character and value of work and working knowledge depend upon whose eyes do the looking, whose words do the telling, and who stands to benefit from the answer that is given. We are learning, the hard way, that if women's work and knowledge are to be recognized and valued, we have to rebuild the cultural myths from a different starting point (see Acker, 1989).

Such a starting point is still the object of our search. It involves critical deconstruction of conventional modes of thinking about and organizing work and learning for work, so we know where they let us down. It means the painstaking task of constructing a new and radically transformed foundation to support both our thinking and our action of these issues. Much work has begun; much work and hardship remains ahead.

For over a century in North America, the dominant framework for thinking about vocational learning has been heavily shaped by behaviourism on the one hand and scientific management on the other. A common expression of these principles is competency-based learning, of which there are many different versions in use in both workplace and school-based learning. The general character of this approach appears quite simple and straightforward: learning objectives are defined as definite, practical activities, broken down into component parts which must be observable and measurable. Achievement is evaluated in the basis of performance of these behaviours, systematically subordinating forms of knowledge or understanding which cannot be objectively measured. From the standpoint of those who organize and administer training, these approaches are attractive because they can be tightly costed and contolled. However, from the standpoint of the individual learner/worker, these approaches turn out to be antithetical not only to the nature of the learning process, but also to the fundamental nature of most work processes to which they are applied.

Recently a colleague and I have been involved in some research which explores the vocational learning experiences of women in nursing and clerical work. We are interested in how their work processes are conceptualized for the purposes of the formal curriculum. In particular, we are exploring the relation between the forms of "competence" which are demonstrated in the formal instructional process and the forms of activity that are recognized as "good work" on the ward or in the office. Not surprisingly, we are finding that the two are related in complex and often contradictory ways.

In both nursing and office settings, we are coming to see concretely how "scientifically managed" forms of both work and learning are inserted into the lives of nurses and clerical workers (Reimer, 1987; Campbell, 1988). They appear there in response to interests that are external to the immediately experienced 'needs' of these women as workers or learners, and indeed have a dis-orienting effect on their experience of job performance. This sense of dis-orientation itself is increasingly the object of our scrutiny.

The fragmentation of work processes into discrete learning objectives isolates work 'tasks' from their part in an ongoing work process and strips them of the "sense" which they derive from the complex course of action of which they are a part (e.g. preparation for meeting, or preparing for surgery) (Suchman, 1983; Vygotsky, 1962). This intrinsic sense of work activities is not a stable entity, identifiable in abstraction and learnable once and for all. Rather, it arises and is achieved only in the conduct of the work itself, in all its textured complexity. What is appropriate in one instance may not be appropriate in the next. A "good" worker is one who can tell the difference, and this capacity is universally respected by co-workers and sought after by employers. In the real world of work and learning, as opposed to the world of scientific curriculum, it is mastery of this kind of local and contextual sense that is the essence of competence.

Acker, J. (1989). Doing comparable worth: Gender, class and pay equity. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Campbell, M. L. (1988). The structure of stress in nurses'work. In B.S. Bolaria and H.D. Dickinson (Eds.) Sociology of Health Care in Canada, (pp. 393-405). Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Reimer, M. (1987). The social organization of the labour process: the documentary management of clerical labour in the public sector. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of TO.

Suchman, L.A. (1983). Office procedure as practical action: Models of work and system design. ACM Transactions on Office Information Ssytems, 1(4), 320-328.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1962). Thought and action. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Dorothy MacKeracher: The research reported in this section is being conducted by a team of New Brunswick researchers. We are investigating the nature and extent of the informal learning women do as part of their jobs. We have completed interviews with 24 women about their work history; the prior experience, formal education and training which has contributed to their current working-related knowledge and skills; and the formal and informal learning they have done since starting their current jobs.

We have defined formal learning as resulting from participation in organized learning experiences such as courses, seminars, workshops or training sessions. Such experiences might be organized and planned by an educational agency or by the employer. We have defined informal learning as resulting from informal work experiences, including unplanned, heuristic work experiences; intentional activities planned and directed by the woman herself; or workplace activities which involve coaching or mentoring. It is our opinion, based on the data we have gathered to date, that women do a great deal of informal, on-the-job learning which is neither recognized by the woman or her employer as learning nor rewarded through pay increases, promotions or other employment benefits (cf. Vallée, 1986).

We have chosen to focus on informal learning because we believe that formal learning is more likely to be recognized and rewarded by the employer either because it can be documented through paper evidence such as course transcripts or certificates, or because the employer supported the learning activities through the provision of workplace or learning resources. Formal training and the associated learning tend to occur through competency-based programs which have been described by Nancy Jackson, in an unpublished speech, as "approaches which break learning down into individual skills or behaviour that can be isolated and named, particularized in order to be taught." The expectation of competency-based programs appears to be that the learner will be able to reassemble sellected skill units into a variety of smoothly-operating and complex procedures in the workplace through informal learning which may or may not be supported by coaching. The descriptions of informal on-the-job learning provided by our respondents did not suggest a reassembling of skill units, but did suggest several other chracteristics.

Many chose to not describe technical skills since, as we were told, these only provide a "licence to learn" and "everyone has them anyway." The women seemed to view technical skills as an important starting point but not reflective of the essence of their jobs or their on-the-job learning. Most did not particularize the non-technical skills required in their work, but described their jobs and their informal learning in global terms.

One objective of our research has been to develop a procedure which will allow an individual woman to document her on-the-job learning. Such documentation could be used during performance appraisals, for seeking promotion, or in salary reviews. The action of documenting informal learning should involve both describing what has been learned and identifying evidence which could be used to assess the resulting knowledge or skills. We began our research with a competency-based approach to this task but were dissatisfied with the results. We are now using a portfolio method similar to one developed to document informal learning for the purposes of obtaining academic credit from post-secondary educational institutions (Sansregret, 1985). In developing our documentation procedure, we have found that we need to provide the women with a list of words which describe job-related activities, rather than competencies, as a means for giving them the tools to talk about and describe their learning. The peril is that we will replicate a competency-based approach to describe learning which is integrated and global rather than differentiated and particularized.

A second aspect of the women's learning was that, when we asked them to describe the skills necessary for their jobs, they described qualities, such as patience, integrity, flexibility, sensitivity to others and empathy. Some described these qualities as part of their inherent nature as women and hence as not learned: only a few described how they had learned such qualities ealier in their life experiences. We believe that all such qualities are learned whether formally or informally.

We have found that when a woman's skills are viewed as inherent strengths or natural qualities, the associated skills become invisible and lack definition. What are we to understand of the quality of patience, for example? Most of the women we interviewed described it as necessary to the competent performance of their jobs. To one it meant not becoming exasperated with difficult clients; to a second, being able to do several things simultaneously; to a third, being able to remain focused even when frequently interrupted; to a fourth, taking the time to support someone who was having difficulty doing a task; to a fifth, doing pains-taking, detail work. The lack of definition for these qualities or skills is both one characteristic of their invisibility and one fact which keeps them invisible.

This characteristic also means that such skills are unlikely to be included in competency-based programs because they do not lend themselves to particularizing. The fact that training conducted through competency-based programs does not address these non-technical skills is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, particularizing these skills would make them meaningless and difficult to learn; on the other, skills not included in training programs are unlikely to be recognized or rewarded in the workplace. Related research questions which need to be addressed include finding ways to describe these skills. Once described, it is important to find ways to develop training programs to include these skills without particularizing them. Related policy questions include finding ways to ensure that these skills will be recognized by employers and rewarded in appropriate ways in the workplace.

Sansregret, M. (1985). Recognition of prior learning: The portfolio. *Andragogical counsellors guide*. Ste-Anne de Bellevue, QU: John Abbott College.

Vallée, M. (1986). *La reconnaissance des acquis des femmes sur le marche au travail remunere*. Montreal: Centre d'orientation at de formation pour les femmes in recherche dans emploi (COFFRE).

Shauna Butterwick: In my research I am examining the everyday world of government funded job training programs for women and how this work is organized by larger political and economic relations. My research is part of a larger feminist project which is making explicit the contradictory outcomes of the institutionalization of women's issues by the state, so that we can work more effectively to change and utilize social policy to better serve the needs of women. Using Dorothy Smith's (1987) notion of institutional ethnography, I have gathered information through interviews and observation of three community-based government-funded job training programs for women. I have also examined government documents related to the current labour market policy under which these programs are funded.

My analysis of this information has been informed by Nancy Fraser's (1989) theorizing about women and the welfare state in which she argues that at the heart of all social policies is a political struggle over the interpretation of needs - what various people (particularly women) need and who should have a say in the matter. She outlines four analytically distinct but practically intermingled struggles for feminists as political actors. First there is the struggle to secure the political status of women's needs. Feminists have played a central role in moving women's issues from the private and domestic realm onto the political agenda. But our work does not stop there. The second struggle is over how these needs, once moved into the public/political domain, are interpreted. These struggles involve challenges to the apparently natural, traditional interpretations still enveloping needs as they move from domestic and private realm to the political. The third struggle is over the "who and how" of need interpretation which involve struggles to empower women to interpret their own needs. The fourth struggle involves the elaboration of and winning of support for policies based on feminist interpretations of women's needs. These struggles take place within a highly contested political arena.

The training programs examined in this study were funded through the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) which offers a variety of program resources "to help those individuals, sectors and regions most in need". Women, particularly those making the transition from home to work, have been identified as one of the groups of individuals "most in need". Under this policy, most women are served under the Entry program where it has been determined that women's difficulty in making the transition from home to work is a result of lack of adequate training and work experience. This inclusion of women under CJS as a special category is in some respects an indication of the success of the women's movement in moving women's work related issues into the public policy arena. However, the limited interpretation of women's needs under CJS reflects an individualistic, human capital perspective in which women's barriers to paid work are considered to be the result of a lack of training and information. The diversity and complexity of women's needs are not reflected in the policy, nor is there any recognition of the structural changes needed to address the gendered segregation of the labour market..

This limited interpretation of women's needs together with budget cuts and increasing demands has resulted in the provision of programs of limited duration and limited resources. The women I spoke with who work as coordinators and instructors in these programs characterized their role as highly ambiguous. They spoke of juggling the demands made upon them by the government to run cost effective programs and produce results ("employable women"), with their desire to serve the diverse needs of the women in the program. Many were critical of the policy but they also expressed a strong conviction that these programs were important and needed because for many women they were "the only game in town".

Although the official policy reduced women's needs to learning specific skills and gaining work experience, within the day to day activities of the programs the complex reality of women's lives and their multiple and diverse needs spilled over these narrow interpretations. Much of the coordinators' negotiations with government officials about the need for more and different resources involved challenges to the official interpretation. A frequent request was for trained on-site counsellors to deal with needs arising out of the violence and abuse which many of the trainees had suffered as children and continued to deal with as adults. There were also many examples of classroom activities and interactions between staff and trainees where the official curriculum was "recreated" in order to respond to newly emerging needs and to empower the trainees to interpret their own needs and to find the resources required to serve those needs. However, the political struggle to name and address the complex and diverse needs of women entering these government funded programs was constrained by limited time, burnout of workers, isolation, and the tenuous quality of government contracts.

Fraser, N. (1989). Unruly practices - power, discourse and gender in contemporary social theory. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Smith, D. (1987) The everyday world as problematic - a feminist sociology. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Summary: Although the above research reflects different entry points to the study of women's work-related learning, we all have discovered that the character and value of work and working knowledge depend upon whose eyes do the looking, whose words do the telling, and who stands to benefit from the answer that is given.

Etude des liens entre l'autodirection et le rendement académique chez des étudiant(e)s d'une université vénézuélienne.

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Résumé: Cette recherche a été menée à l'Université nationale expérimentale Simon Rodriguez au Vénézuéla. Le *Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale* de Guglielmino (1977) a servi à établir le niveau d'autodirection des 709 sujets de la recherche. La recherche a porté sur les liens entre l'autodirection et le rendement académique. Les résultats indiquent des corrélations significatives entre ces deux dimensions.

Abstract: This research has been conducted at the Universidad Nacional Experimental Simon Rodriguez (Venezuela). The *Self-Directed Readiness Scale* has been used to establish the self-directedness of 709 students. The research measures relations between self-directedness and academic results. Significant results are observed between these two dimensions.

Etat de la situation: Cette recherche s'est déroulée à l'Université nationale expérimentale Simon Rodriguez (U.N.E.S.R.) au Vénézuéla. L' université a été créée en 1974 avec l'intention avouée d'offrir à la société vénézuélienne une approche originale en éducation. L'idéal démocratique qui l'animait alors, et qui l'anime toujours, était de former des femmes et des hommes responsables, capables de travailler au mieux-être de la société. Cet idéal s'est traduit dans une structure administrative et des approches éducatives susceptibles de favoriser et de respecter l'autodirection.

> "Le caractère andragogique de l'institution signifie qu'elle est constituée d'une communauté de personnes adultes qui sont capables effectivement de formuler leurs propres projets en vue d'atteindre leurs propres objectifs" (Félix Adam, 1976, p. 11)

La philosophie de l'U.N.E.S.R. présente une analogie avec l'andragogie tel que défini par Knowles (1971) et reprend les postulats qu'il a alors présentés à savoir que l'adulte peut produire ses propres décisions, qu'il sait se servir de ses expériences pour y greffer ses apprentissages, qu'il apprend à travers les divers rôles de sa vie et qu'il est intéressé à apprendre pour trouver réponse aux problèmes auxquels il fait face.

Question de la recherche: Même si l'U.N.E.S.R. a fait siens les postulats de l'approche knowlienne, qu'elle a proposé de nouvelles approches éducatives (tutorat, contrats d'apprentissage, approche par projets etc.) et qu'elle a assoupli ses conditions d'admission pour y accueillir l'adulte, il n'a jamais été démontré de manière systématique que les étudiants avaient le niveau d'autodirection exigé par un tel contexte. La recherche s'est intéressée à la question suivante:

> Quel est le niveau d'autodirection des étudiant(e)s inscrit(e)s à l'U.N.E.S.R. et quel lien peut être établi entre le niveau d'autodirection et le résultat académique.

La recherche s'est également intéressée aux différences qu'il serait possible d'observer à l'intérieur de la population étudiée quant à l'âge, au sexe, au programme d'études ou à la modalité d'admission.

Recension des écrits: La recension d'écrits a essentiellement porté sur les thèses et mémoires (n: 32) qui ont utilisé l'instrument *Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale*, instrument de mesure élaboré par Guglielmino (1977). L'analyse des écrits révèle que cet instrument a été utilisé en lien avec diverses variables. Des variables d'ordre psychologique telles la créativité, le raisonnement logique et la dépendance/indépendance de champ ont montré des résultats variables en lien avec l'autodirection (Fullbright; 1980, Hudson; 1985, Carney; 1985). D'autres recherches ont eu lieu en entreprise et ont démontré des corrélations positives entre l'autodirection et la satisfaction au travail (Finestone; 1984, Middleness; 1987 et Young; 1986). D'autres recherches ont pu établir des liens entre l'autodirection et la proprension à conduire des projets de nature autodidactique (Graeves; 1987, Hall-Johnsen; 1985 et Skaggs; 1981).

Certaines variables socio-démographiques qui intéressent la présente recherche ont fait l'objet de près de 70% des recherches analysées (McCune; 1988). Des corrélations positives ont pu être établies entre l'âge et l'autodirection (McCarty; 1985 et Mancuso; 1988). Aucune corrélation n'a pu être établie pour le sexe ou l'origine ethnique (Diaz; 1988, Roberts; 1986). Des corrélation positives significative ont été observées avec la niveau de scolarité (Curry; 1983) ou le niveau d'avancement de la candidature (Cunningham; 1988 et Middleness; 1987).

Seule la recherche de Box (1982) s'est intéressée aux liens entre l'autodirection et le rendement académique. Cette recherche s'est déroulée auprès de 513 étudiant(e)s des 1er et 2e cycles universitaires en sciences infirmières. Les résultats indiquent une corrélation significative entre le niveau d'autodirection tel que mesuré par le S.D.L.R.S. et la moyenne scolaire (r= 0,11).

Méthodologie: La version espagnole du *Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale* (1982) a d'abord fait l'objet d'une pré-expérimentation pour procéder à sa validation auprès d'une population vénézuélienne. Cette version de 58 items avec échelle de type Likert a pu être reprise telle quelle suite à l'adaptation de quelques termes à la culture sud-américaine. Le test a été administré à tous les étudiant(e)s qui se sont inscrit(e)s à la session septembre-décembre 1987 à l'U.N.E.S.R. - nucleo de Los Teques (n: 709). Les scores au test ont été mis en lien avec la moyenne scolaire telle qu'elle apparait au bulletin cumulatif de l'étudiant(e).

Les données ont été transcrites par la firme Perfotec (Montréal) et traitées à l'aide d'un programme du SPSS-x. Des pourcentages ont été établis pour les divers sous-groupes de la population afin de voir comment elle se répartissait (programme d'études, âge, sexe, modalité d''admission etc.). Les moyennes et les écarts-types des résultats au test SDLRS ont ensuite été établis pour les divers sous-groupes de la population. Un postulat de linéarité a été formulé à savoir que si quatre groupes étaient formés à partir des scores obtenus au test, la moyenne scolaire allait décroître au fur et à mesure que décroissait le score au test. Ce postulat a été vérifié et le coefficient de corrélation ("r" de Pearson) et la probabilité ont été établis pour chacun des sous-groupes de la population conformément à la question centrale de la recherche.

Résultats: La population de la recherche comprend plus d'étudiant(e)s en adminstration (63%) qu'en éducation (36,5%). Elle est majoritairement de sexe masculin (66,6%) et elle comprend plus d'étudiant(e)s agé(e)s de moins de 27 ans (61%). Si on considère les modalités d'admission qui présentent une alternative aux voies traditionnelles (reconnaissance des acquis, équivalences et études sous forme de tutorat), on observe que 61,3% des étudiant(e)s ont pu profiter d'un plus grand accès à l'université.

En ce qui concerne les scores obtenus au test et les corrélations entre l'autodirection et le rendement académique, les résultats suivants méritent d'être signalés.

- La population étudiée a obtenu un score de 204,9. Ce score est inférieur au score normalisé de 214 établi par Guglielmino (1988). Le score obtenu par les étudiant(e)s se situe cependant dans les moyennes normalisées qui varient entre 188 et 240. Les résultats indiquent que les étudiant(e)s de l'U.N.E.S.R. sont capables d'autodirection tel qu'on l'avait postulé au moment de la fondation.

- Des corrélations ont été établies entre les scores au test et les moyennes scolaires. Les résultats indiquent une corrélation significative positive de 0,11 (p= 0,002). Ce résultat est identique à celui obtenu par Box (1982), unique recherche, à notre connaissance, qui se soit intéressée aux liens entre l'autodirection et le rendement académique.

- Les étudiant(e)s d'éducation et d'administration se sont comporté(e)s différemment. Alors qu'une corrélation positive (r= 0,20 et p= 0,000) est établie en éducation, il n'y en n'a pas en administration. Cette différence peut s'expliquer par le fait que le programme d'éducation est assumé par des professeur(e)s à temps plein, qui ont été sensibilisé(e)s à la philosophie particulière de l'université et qui emploient des méthodes actives (contrats d''apprentissage, approche par projet, etc.) pour faciliter l'autodirection. Par contre, en administration, l'enseignement est assuré par des chargé(e)s de cours qui utilisent davantage des méthodes traditionnelles (cours magistraux et examens).

Certaines variables ont été étudiées et les principaux résultats sont les suivants:

- Il n'a pas été possible d'observer des différences importantes entre les plus jeunes (moins de 27 ans) et les plus âgés (27 ans ou plus) quant aux scores obtenus au test ou quant aux corrélations établies entre le niveau d'autodirection et la moyenne scolaire.

- Lorsque des sous-groupes ont été formés selon le sexe, il a été observé que les hommes du programme d'éducation obtenaient des corrélations significatives entre le niveau d'autodirection et la moyenne scolaire alors qu'il n'existait aucune corrélation chez les femmes. Bien que cette différence ait été signalée par d'autres auteurs (McCune; 1988 et West; 1990), il n'a pas été possible de l'expliquer.

- Lorsque des groupes ont été formés selon la modalité d'admission, ce sont les étudiant(e)s qui ont reçu des équivalences ou qui ont été admis pour des études supervisées (forme de tutorat) qui ont obtenu les scores les plus élevés (scores de 207,6 et de 206,3). Ces étudiant(e)s se distinguent des autres du fait d'avoir étudié après le secondaire (équivalences obtenues) ou d'avoir une expérience de travail . Les étudiant(e)s qui obtiennent les scores les plus faibles (199,2 et 202,0) proviennent du niveau d'études secondaires et n'ont habituellement jamais interrompu leurs études.

- Les étudiants d'éducation admis pour des études supervisées sont les seuls qui présentent une corrélation significative entre le niveau d'autodirection et la moyenne scolaire (r= 0,27 et p= 0,001). Ces étudiants bénéficient, d'une part, d'un régime individualisé d'études sous forme de tutorat et, d'autre part, ce sont des enseignants en exercice qui doivent nécessairement faire preuve d'autonomie au travail. La corrélation observée permet d'être conforté dans la décision qui a été prise, au moment de la fondation de l'U.N.E.S.R., d'ouvrir les portes aux adultes qui travaillent et de leur offrir une formule andragogique qui tienne compte de leur capacité d'autodirection.

Implications théoriques et pratiques: Les résultats de la recherche invitent à tenir compte de l'expérience de travail comme variable en lien avec l'autodirection. En effet, les étudiants qui ont été admis pour des études supervisées (forme de tutorat) obtiennent des corrélations significatives entre l'autodirection et le rendement académique ; ces étudiant(e)s ont nécessairement une expérience de travail. Aucune recherche à ce jour n'a considéré cette variable qui pourtant est un élément caractéristique de l'âge adulte. Une telle recherche pourrait avoir des implications pratiques intéressantes pour les universités qui veulent accorder une plus grande accessibilité aux travailleurs en exercice.

Une autre piste de recherche est suggérée par les corrélations établies entre le niveau d'autodirection et la méthode d'enseignement utilisée. Il serait intéressant éventuellement d'étudier l'influence spécifique d'un programme de formation sur le niveau d'autodirection. Les études qui se sont intéressées à cet aspect ont surtout analysé l'effet de certaines techniques isolées d'un programme global . Cette recherche serait importante dans la mesure où elle rejoint une des préoccupations essentielles qui a présidé à la création de l'université où s'est déroulée la recherche. Une telle recherche pourrait également s'intéresser aux compétences particulières à développer chez les professeur(e)s intéressé(e)s à une intervention éducative axée sur l'autodirection.

Les résultats de cette recherche constituent des données objectives à partir desquelles il pourrait être intéressant, alors que 16 ans ont passé depuis la création de l'"U.N.E.S.R., de procéder à un retour sur sa philosophie et sur les pratiques qui en découlent.

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DEVELOPING THE TEXT TOGETHER: TOWARD A CRITICAL PRACTICE OF ADULT EDUCATION

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Introduction

Cet article porte sur nos efforts pour écrire un texte en collaboration sur la pratique critique de l'éducation aux adultes.

This paper presents our initial efforts in writing a text together on the critical practice of adult education.

Critical Cross-Currents. (MC).

Does it make sense to talk about critical pedagogy within the confines of academic adult education? We talk about it all right. We talk about it a lot these days. But will the turn towards critical discourse make any difference in terms of practice? The presenters of this session are hopeful. We are writing a book together on the critical practice of adult education.

The effects of the critical turn within the academy of adult education have not been altogether negligible. Critical discourse in adult education describes an alternative, though hardly a challenge as yet, to the bland technocratic pedagogical strategies (self-directed learning, CBE, individualized learning, HRD, learning contracts and all that) of modern adult education practice (MAEP). If critical discourse in adult education could only sustain a critical edge we might be able to peel away the blandness and examine how MAEP serves educational policy formation under the neo-conservative ascendancy. It would be necessary to make some finely honed distinctions. Critical discourse as envisaged here, one would hope, is not to be confused with the mushy rhetoric of critical thinking which is in the process of being homogenized and pre-packaged for MAEP.

We could argue, with some justification, that critical discourse within academic adult education has played a part in undermining the dominance of narrowly conceived positivistic research. And it has posed a slight challenge to prescriptive, overly-managed, patriarchal, and ethnocentric orientations to educational programming. But there is still little to write home about in this regard. MAEP continues to thrive. Critique that is not coopted still helps to legitimize the mainstream practices against which it is directed. We might well anticipate the emergence of "critical HRD" within the near future. These comments are not merely facetious. A critical pedagogy is a ways in danger of being compromised and coopted.

In recent years the trajectory of critical discourse in academic adult education, through phenomenology, critical hermeneutics, critical social theory, post-modernism, and a growing feminist research project, has provided a meaningful alternative to the taken-for-granted psychologism of MAEP. It has revealed the extent to which the modern practice of adult education is shaped according to the interests of corporate enterprise. Critical discourse has enabled us to understand how the technical rationality underlying MAEP helps sustain prevailing institutionalized patterns of power and social relations.

At this critical juncture, then, it is relevant to ask: "now that we understand, what ought we to do?" A critical discourse of adult education which fails to take this question seriously will, at best, revert to a designer jean socialism of the academe.

Critical Practice in the University. (PC)

Critical pedagogy draws its energy and examples from social movements. The development of new strategies for social change, and instances of solidarity in political action are, in the main, experienced in settings beyond the university. What then is the role of universities in working with social activists, organic intellectuals, who are committed to democratic social change on behalf of their own social class and society as a whole?

Many community-based activists argue that universities and privileged academics are enemies of education for democratic social change. Although they present a liberal face, universities are basically conservative. They constitute an asymmetrical power relationship with the base community. It is their nature to reproduce that relationship. There are, however, opportunities for academics, as organic intellectuals, to do emancipatory work from "ideological spaces" they manage to create within the universities.

Professors of adult education can opt for business as usual within the academy, which is characterized by the intellectual work of the dominant culture, or they can work on the boundaries of the university establishing a counter discourse and extending institutional resources to groups and causes supported by community-based intellectual activists. In committing themselves to the second option, adult education professors envisage the university as a broker between those knowledges produced in popular social movements and conventional knowledge that supports existing hegemonic arrangements.

Modern public universities have tended to become factories for developing functionaries for the state. A facade of intellectual free-thinking is allowed the institution but, at least within professional schools, the intellectual activity is that of instrumental rationality. Students are not taught to be critical analysts but to be superior reproductive technicians.

In the university environment it is still possible for professors and students to open up new "ideological spaces" through collective action. At Northern Illinois University such activity has yielded promising results. Through strategies employed to persuade the university to operationalize its own liberalistic mission statement, greater accessibility is now afforded to people from marginalized populations. At the same time the predominant Eurocentric context is challenged by introducing other cultural orientations (Afrocentric, Indigenous American, and Latino). New knowledge from culturally different systems of thought becomes part of the academic discourse. Initiatives are undertaken to link recruits from Afro-American, Indigenous American, and Latino backgrounds with counterparts in Africa, Latin America, and indigenous communities.

The emancipatory pedagogical work at NIU has been extended beyond the university to include professional associations, the research industry, and community-based activist groups. University extension now supports the Lindeman Center as an on-going project in Chicago devoted entirely to popular education.

The student body of the adult education doctoral program at NIU is 45% non-Euroamerican (20% African American, 11% international non-Caucasian, and 14% Hispanic, Asian, and Native American). In the university as a whole, less than 5% of the graduate students are non-Caucasian.

The transformational nature of the program is characterized by the following developments: five Afrocentric dissertations have been successfully defended; 24 people in a "community-based cohort" studying a liberatory curriculum have graduated with masters degrees; three visiting professors from the "South" are presently teaching in the program; a comparative research project has been initiated between Hispanic American community educators and Latin American popular educators; a formal linkage between poor African American women organizing tenant management in public housing through participatory research has been established with poor women in Zambia working in a community development program; formal exchange programs have been set up with the Shanghai Second Institute and the Council for Latin American (popular) Adult Education; and, finally, a counter-hegemonic challenge to adult education researchers has been mounted by NIU international graduate students which questions a prevailing knowledge base characterized by ethnocentrism and exclusivity.

The emancipatory pedagogical activity at NIU may not have been possible without tenured professors who were prepared to learn from the community. They learned that it is not enough to extend the university into the community; qualitative changes in the knowledge base were also required to overcome the alienation from the university of marginalized intellectuals.

A Feminist Perspective: On Theory as Practice (SC)

First, I would argue that theory itself is a practice. Theorizing is carried on by people in specific social and cultural milieu and, positivism to the contrary, human interests are at work in theorizing. These interests are both personal, or individual, and generic. To explain what I mean, my own work in the intersections of feminism and education theory are undertaken because of my particular experiences as a woman and because I hope that a theoretical understanding of what for me are the "hows and whys" of my own life will help other people not only to understand but to act on their own knowledge and experiences. For me, and I suspect for many other people, theorizing is ruled by an ethical imperative which negates the image of theory as a totally impractical enterprise undertaken from the lofty realms of the ivory tower. Put in personal terms again, if theory does not acknowledge women or gender, then how can any theory-informed practice hope to do so? With questions such as these, theory itself becomes an arena for practical intent and occasional intense struggle.

A second area of concern I have here is that the distinction between theory and practice frequently devolves into a false distinction between theorists and practitioners, as though one can be only one or the other, but not both. While theory may be an arena theoretically amenable to change, critique, discussion and - dare we suggest - improvement, the university setting itself, I think, is less so. I find it ironic, if typical, that critical practice is viewed as something that can be taught in an abstract manner, as a certain body of knowledge to be mastered, a vocabulary to be acquired.

What I am interested in here is the anomaly that many of us see - the refusal of academics to examine their own position in light of the theories they teach and the equally frequent "hiving off" of critical action/practice in realms outside academia. I want to ask how critical critical practice can be if we as academics do not see, or refuse to acknowledge, ourselves as subjects of our own critical discourse. Within the bureaucratic, classist, racist, and sexist confines of the university environment I recognize that such questions do not sit easily, but it is nonetheless imperative to ask them. That the university is not structured readily to accommodate critique is not surprising, given that its standard model is that of a discourse of mastery in which the student is largely rendered passive. So then how as teachers or educators can we enact critical practice within an environment which is not designed to accommodate its questions? As stated above, feminism has informed and complicated my approach to these issues. Feminism has made me aware that theory is an arena for struggle and has brought home how hard this struggle can be.

On a somewhat different level I am concerned and perplexed over the differences and intersections between the notions of critical practice and feminist practice. Is feminist practice a variant of critical practice or is it qualitatively different? And if different, how? Of course, I have no answers to these questions, but I do want to end on a suggestive note.

Of late, I have been reading around psychoanalytic literature. While it is not common to think of teaching and education in psychoanalytic terms, I was struck by the following idea. When we think of education, typically we think of the ways in which we literally lead people out and toward something. This, I think has been the standard way in which we have approached critical education and critical practice. I wanted to suggest an alternative in which what we end up doing is not so much teaching people what they do not know, but talking them through what they already know but may have repressed - the truth or truths of their oppression and of their subjective involvement in these. Yet in this particular version of the talking cure it seems the analyst-teacher is the one who does the talking, rather than the analysand student. This peculiar inversion of the normal - and supposedly therapeutic - analytic model leads me to question what blinds spots in our own situations as academics we cannot or refuse to acknowledge in our own critical practice with and upon ourselves.

Abandoned Spaces and Uncontested Places (MW)

In our field of adult education, we have too many abandoned spaces and uncontested places. The way the analytical object of our theoretical practice is constructed is prerequisite for a critical educational practice. This latter proposition, boldly asserted, reverses the usual tendency to make "theory" subservient to "practice". The way we perceive the analytical object of our practice delimits those spaces and places within the social totality that we consider the formative curricular structures. A revolution in the way we perceive the social and historical organization of learning could precipitate a revolution in our educational practice. The way we conceptualize the analytical object of our practice precedes how we think the relationship between theory and practice; all epistemological disputes presuppose ontological assumptions.

If, for instance, we think of "all of society as a vast school" rather than searching for "schools within society", a radical new way of conceptualizing learning and thinking about pedagogical practices emerges. To be sure, the distinction between the "education of adults" and "adult education" has long been recognized within the field of adult education. But we have not moved to provide the social ontological argumentation necessary to shift those common sense insights to the theoretical plane. It may be that we, as professional adult educators, fear that if we do so, our reason for being will be undermined. We have been very reluctant to call for the development of a theoretical framework that would delineate the constituent elements of a theory of "all of society as a vast school." Educational theory has colonized learning theory. The work of Alan Thomas (Beyond Education (1991)), is an exception within the field of adult education, as is Lawrence Cremin's analyses of the history of American "education" within educational history.

Adult educators cannot really enter into the current social dialogue as a distinctive voice unless we are able to conceptualize "all of society as a vast school." Gramsci, in fact, had such a view and his central concepts - hegemony and counter-hegemony - were designed to reveal that pedagogical relationships could not be restricted to the conventional space of the "formal" school. Gramsci forced us to look beyond the school space to other places where the world-outlook, sensibility, etc. of children, men and women were being formed. He shifted our thinking about curriculum away from the narrow confines of the school space to the formative curricular places of production, reproduction and civil society. In doing so, he also provided a new way of thinking about what was occurring within the formal school space. His ability to call for a particular type of schooling for children was grounded in his social ontological assumptions about the analytical object of a learning theology.

The way we have constructed the boundaries of our field and theorized about the learning occurring within these boundaries has caused us to give up too much ground. Let me give several examples.

1. Our individualism and psychologism predispose us to abandon the organization of production as formative curricular structure. We try to foster critical reflectivity within various workplaces. We find it very easy to accept corporate and state definitions of the "skill deficit" of the work force, and to participate in pre-packaged training programs. We have seldom offered any searching criticism of human resource development. We have not thought of the organization of work itself in curricular terms. Within the "all of society as a vast school" frame, we would analyze the workplace as a cultural environment which has been selected as a set of possibilities for learning transactions occurring primarily in the everyday organization of work.

2. Our individualism and psychologism predispose us to accept the existing degradation of civic culture as just the way it is. Our theoretical frameworks have not provided us with the resources to reclaim our historic affirmation of the active citizen so that we can speak critically about politics in a technocratic society from a distinctive position. If we are not able to conceptualize the public as potentially a "community of publics" rather than as an atomized mass of manipulated passive citizens, we will have abandoned a second central formative curricular structure. To what extent does the current organization of decision-making (at different levels of the polity enable citizens to develop political knowledge, enhance political competence and deepen ability to act prudently, or disobediently (when necessary?). Have we abandoned the political space to assorted barbarians? What does citizenry now mean for most adult educators?

3. Have the languages of adult education discourse been determined by technocrats, efficiency experts, instrumental reasoners, mushy humanists? What about our liberatory languages? How does it happen that words like "empowerment" are gutted of meaning? Have we abandoned the linguistic spaces within contemporary culture? Are we able to contest the miserable tendency in our culture for educational language to deform into slogans, empty of emancipatory meaning? Do we have our own autonomous and aesthetically elegant languages to challenge the pathos of consumer languages that wash over us?

4. If "all of society is a vast school", then what should formal school spaces be doing? The formal school spaces do not have the central formative power within the social totality. But they do have work to do towards the reform of our society. conventional schools ought to help people to learn to create the structures we will inhabit in our adult lives that will enable us to develop our cognitive, affective, communicative, aesthetic, and somatic capacities.

HRD AND THE WORKPLACE: ARE THERE ALTERNATIVES?
LE MILIEU DE TRAVAIL PEUT-IL ETRE FORMATEUR?

In this symposium we explore the current discourse and practice of learning and education in the workplace. We examine critically the models dominating the human resource development and propose the **educative workplace** as an alternative. - Ce symposium explore le discours et la pratique actuels de la formation reliée au travail. Nous examinons les modèles dominants de développement des ressources humaines et proposons le **milieu de travail formateur** comme autre modèle.

HRD AS ADULT EDUCATION'S CONTRIBUTION TO DE-SKILLING
Michael Collins

Recent discussions within the Commission of Professors of Adult Education (CPAE) manifest concern with the way the field "is becoming a market-driven enterprise". In the midst of the neo-conservative ascendancy, and possibly as a result of the recent penchant for critical discourse, a growing number of academic adult educators have begun to understand the role mainstream adult education has cast for itself during recent decades. The modern practice of adult education plays a significant part in sustaining the capitalist forms of organization and social relations of advanced industrial society. With regard to the workplace this means that modern adult education, to a very large extent, reinforces the strategic interests of employers and management.

Some will argue, the exponents of HRD in particular, that adult education approaches are needed to prepare people for newly emerging highly skilled jobs. They buy into human capital theory which links education and training directly with job creation. Others have read the data and the reality. Human capital theory, like "trickle-down" effects, does not deliver for ordinary working people.

The highly skilled positions created by technological innovation are nowhere near enough to replace jobs lost through "down-sizing". Rather, current shifts in the deployment of capital have been accompanied by a noticeable increase in low-skilled, relatively poorly paid jobs at the bottom end of the labour market. Unemployment data are deceptive because they fail to account for the temporary nature of many jobs and do not record those people who have just given up looking for employment. In any event, under current conditions of capital accumulation, there is a surplus labour force from which employers seek to draw for relatively low-skilled, often temporary jobs.

Public policy in these circumstances tends to support education and training which habituate people to the prospect of shifting between a series of low-skilled temporary jobs during their working lives. At the same time, there is a need to cloak this reality in the ideological rhetoric of individual achievement, competence, and skills acquisition. This tendency explains, in part, the continuing support given by provincial and state level government departments for competency-based education, a significant aspect of the HRD phenomenon and a prime example of curriculum design for a de-skilled work-force.

Leonard Nadler (1980), a prominent American professor of adult education closely associated with the emergence of HRD as a distinctive field of practice, has described how HRD evolved from training and development. He has also provided the rationale for the close interconnection between HRD and the modern practice of adult education. At first glance, the elaboration required to distinguish HRD from training and development and the conventional personnel function seems only to serve academic needs. But it is clear from examining the literature on HRD that more is at stake in terms of carving out for professionalized practice a burgeoning area of activity oriented to corporate interests. In his model Nadel subsumes HRD alongside "Human Resource Utilization" (HRU) and "Human Resource Environment" (HRE), under "Human Resource Management" (HRM). To all intents and purposes, HRU assumes the conventional personnel function while HRE deals with "job enrichment", "job enlargement", and "organizational development".

For Nadler the overlap between HRD and adult education is considerable. His minimal definition of HRD could be just as readily applied to the practice of adult education in general: **HRD is concerned with providing learning experiences for people.** Subsequently, Nadler stresses the importance of HRD in terms of its potential for increasing efficiency and productivity. In the most recent Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education, adult education professor Karen Watkins (1990) suggested a broad definition for HRD which is somewhat less corporate in tone than Nadler's concept and more in keeping with some of the principles adult educators espouse: "*Human resource development is the field of study and practice responsible for the fostering of a long-term, work-related learning capacity at the individual, group, and organizational levels of organizations*". But we are left in no doubt that employer and management perspectives remain the paramount concern for HRD.

For Nadler and Watkins the **educational component** of HRD provides individual-related learning experiences. (**Training** deals with job-related learning experiences and **development** refers to "organizational-related" learning experiences). Individual learning needs from the HRD perspective are envisaged as coinciding with organizational interests. HRD mediates between employees and employer in the interests of the latter, even to the extent of providing adult education for workers about to be laid-off so that the organization will be spared as much aggravation as possible. HRD might be a kinder, gentler form of Taylorism, but it still takes on the role of providing employers with a readily accessible surplus labour force under prevailing conditions of capital formation. This tendency is clearly discernible from Watkin's discussion on the "Externalization of the Work Force".

The discourse of HRD avoids critical analysis and reflection that would take it beyond the ethos of corporate capitalism. It is in this light that we must assess well-intentioned suggestions that critical reflection as an HRD pedagogical strategy can be developed within the workplace.

The term "human resource development" itself must seem, at first sight, a little odd to adult educators who have no experience in business and industry. Are human resources people? Clearly the intent is to designate employees as a resource along with physical and financial resources. This preference for corporate language is instructive. (At one time the term "labor" was widely used, but that now has a connotation that is, perhaps, thought to be overly political for the purposes of HRD). HRD signifies a move towards industry driven education and training. The CBE model contrives to gauge and assess the needs of business and industry but, in the main, it still emanates from publicly maintained educational institutions. With HRD the prime locations for the shaping of discourse on education and training reside in business and industry, and various public service organizations other than education. In these settings education and training is deployed with increasing adeptness, thanks to HRD, in the interests of employers, managers, and the bureaucracy. The momentum gained by HRD, and its uncritical acceptance within modern adult education practice, is indicative of the extent to which the meaning of adult education is now constituted by corporate enterprise versions of education and training.

In failing to recognize that ethical and political choices have to be made about whose interests they should serve, many adult educators have embraced, without careful assessment, the aims of a political ideology which is antithetical to the pedagogical commitments they espouse. A critique of HRD is not intended to imply that adult education should turn its back on the workplace. On the contrary, it suggests that adult educators need to seek alternative pedagogical strategies for the workplace that are more in line with the interests of ordinary working people.

Nadler, L. (1980). What is Human Resource Development? *In* Corporate Human Resource Development: A Management Tool, Madison, WI: ASTD, pp.2-6.

Watkins, K. (1990). Business and Industry, *In* S. Merriam and P. Cunningham (eds). Handbook of Adult & Continuing Education, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, p.427.

LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DES RESSOURCES HUMAINES ET LE MODELE JAPONAIS

Adèle Chéné

Le dynamisme et la productivité des entreprises du Japon donnent des raisons de considérer comme idéal le modèle japonais de développement des ressources humaines. La question qui nous intéresse plus particulièrement concerne la formation comme articulation du rapport entre l'espace de vie et l'espace de travail.

Sans ressources d'énergie ni matières premières, le Japon est parvenu depuis la Deuxième guerre à se tailler une des premières places parmi les grands pays industriels du monde. Il est assez courant de donner des explications culturalistes au succès de l'entreprise japonaise ou encore de lui associer une éthique du travail caractéristique, les Japonais étant non seulement assidus et intéressés à leur travail, mais aussi désireux d'utiliser leurs aptitudes et d'améliorer leurs connaissances. Or, cette motivation au travail est soutenue par le système de promotion qui valorise, à l'intérieur même d'un cadre de permanence de l'emploi et parallèlement au principe égalitaire de la séniorité, l'excellence de la performance de l'employé, ses connaissances et ses habiletés, ainsi que la confiance qu'il se mérite auprès des autres (Takeshi,1988). Comme la formation de l'employé fait partie intégrante de l'organisation de travail, on peut faire l'hypothèse qu'elle contribue à structurer cette motivation en même temps qu'elle la fortifie.

Les traits principaux du modèle de développement des ressources humaines dans l'entreprise japonaise sont les suivants: 1) La **formation sur le tas**, c'est-à-dire l'apprentissage par l'expérience, assure la plus grande partie de la formation de l'employé. Les entreprises emploient en majeure partie des

diplômés de l'école secondaire, puis elles les forment systématiquement au cours de leur carrière, non seulement à l'exercice de certaines tâches, mais aux manières et aux valeurs de l'entreprise. 2) La formation est organisée dans le cadre du **travail d'équipe** et selon une stratégie de **polyvalence**. Plutôt que de se spécialiser pour une opération bien définie, l'employé doit aussi apprendre les tâches de ses co-équipiers et être capable de rotation. Ceci laisse une certaine flexibilité à l'employeur qui assigne les postes de travail, tout en satisfaisant l'employé qui voit son potentiel mis à contribution. En outre, le chevauchement des tâches favorise un engagement collectif plutôt qu'individuel. 3) Les **savoirs** sont au coeur de l'entreprise: "We are leading the Japanese business scene in changing the personnel organization to one typical in a knowledge-intensive company". (prés. Kobayashi, 1979, *In* What's FIMAT, Tokyo: Fujitsu, 1989) L'entreprise présente son offre de formation comme accordée au moment de la carrière de l'employé et aux impératifs des changements de société. La prise en charge par l'entreprise des connaissances et des habiletés requises pour le travail module chez l'employé son sentiment d'appartenance et la valeur qu'il accorde au travail comme une occasion de se développer: "cols blancs et cols bleus désirent apprendre et développer leurs habiletés et, même si la formation est obligatoire, elle n'est pas ressentie comme telle". (entrevue, Fujitsu Co. Ltd., Tokyo,1990)

Dans ce modèle où on arrive à vivre pour le travail, le désir d'apprendre et l'aptitude à la coopération sont moulés dans l'objectif de l'entreprise et l'**enrichissement de la vie professionnelle** traduit à la fois productivité de l'entreprise et développement du potentiel des employés. L'espace de travail se superpose à l'espace de vie et la formation consolide ce recouvrement. Ceci transparaît dans le discours officiel de documents émanant de Fujitsu qui se considère chef de file des entreprises et qui, établie depuis 1935 et spécialisée en télécommunications, informatique et électronique, dispose de plusieurs filières de formation pour ses 55,000 employés.

Or ce modèle n'est pas sans susciter plusieurs questions. Si on reconnaît que le travail d'équipe est un des secrets de la réussite des Japonais, qu'il a favorisé l'adaptation des employés aux rapides changements technologiques, il s'avère qu'il a été une stratégie efficace de survie pour les firmes qui ont pris au sérieux la compétition internationale. Ceci fait ressortir que la compétitivité reste liée à des facteurs structurels.

Selon l'hypothèse de Koike (1987), la productivité des entreprises ne repose pas tant sur le développement des ressources humaines ou sur la gestion des relations de travail que sur le niveau élevé des habiletés intellectuelles des cols bleus, comparable à celui des techniciens et des ingénieurs. Celles-ci incluent l'habileté à résoudre les problèmes en cours de production, c'est-à-dire de faire face à l'inédit, ce pour quoi il n'y a pas de formation standardisée, et l'habileté à prendre des décisions.

Du modèle japonais on retient que l'entreprise réussit à entraîner avec elle ses employés, qu'elle leur donne une formation polyvalente, puis compte qu'ils s'entr'aideront: "Les dirigeants de l'entreprise ont une vision, la nôtre est de compétitionner avec IBM; les employés partagent la vision de la compagnie et sont contents de le faire". (entrevue, Fujitsu Co. Ltd., Tokyo, 1990) Or, dans le contexte plus récent de la restructuration industrielle, les employés, et souvent les plus vulnérables d'entre eux, sont durement touchés par les licenciements et le principe de séniorité ne tient pas toujours dans la mobilité aux postes de travail. A l'envers du développement des ressources humaines apparaît ainsi la violence symbolique de l'entreprise sur l'espace de vie des personnes, violence d'autant plus grande qu'elle est cachée. On voit par exemple qu'un programme destiné aux cols blancs de 45 ans chez Fujitsu sert aussi d'antichambre à des changements d'affectation ou tout simplement à la retraite.

Enfin, même au Japon, on commence à suggérer que le travail n'occupe pas tout l'espace de la vie. Si l'accroissement de la productivité a paru utile dans la conjoncture économique des années 80, il n'a pas produit tous les effets attendus et, par ricochet, a rehaussé le standard de performance. En mai 1990, le Ministère du commerce international et de l'industrie s'apprêtait à recommander que d'une économie orientée vers la production et l'exportation on passe à une économie orientée vers l'importation et la consommation, qu'on réduise le nombre d'heures de travail, bref, qu'on tire avantage de la valeur du yen et qu'on profite de la vie.

Le message d'enrichir sa vie que l'industrie est disposée à endosser avec le gouvernement fait culbuter le modèle jusqu'à maintenant privilégié. S'il libère l'espace de vie, les marginalisés du monde du travail ne s'en trouvent pas mieux servis, ni le travail, humanisé. Aussi, alors que les technopoles de l'ère post-industrielle ont déjà pris le pas au Japon, un modèle de développement des ressources humaines reste à inventer pour la diversité des vies individuelles et la vie collective d'aujourd'hui.

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CREATING THE EDUCATIVE WORKPLACE

Michael Welton

Anyone who thinks about the meaning of work for human beings in our agonizing world has to be struck by the unsettling coexistence of pessimistic and optimistic perspectives. Every positive assertion negated by someone; utopian visions of technology as liberator countered by gloomy prognostications of an increasingly deskilled, degraded labour force; the very idea of an educative workplace greeted skeptically by educators humbled in the face of seemingly recalcitrant power structures and unimaginative administrators. The central challenge for adult educators is to develop a critical analytical and normative framework for understanding the constraints on and possibilities of developmental, learner-centred work.

This discussion of the educative workplace is offered as yardstick, informed by social theory and practice, to guide our collective efforts to build developmental work environments. The future reshaping and design of work has much to do with the understanding we have about what it means to live fully and freely in our emergent post-industrial world. My basic assumption is that we need to move beyond conventional ideas about the education and training of workers to an analysis of the workplace as a cultural environment which has been

selected as a set of possibilities for learning transactions. Concepts of learning can be applied to the workplace, viewed as a formative curricular structure, and workplaces can be evaluated, in part, by the extent to which they enable workers to acquire and enhance valued skills and abilities. "Taylorism", for example, would be understood as a learning theory in itself, a way of designing workplace organization (in various settings) premised upon assumptions about human capacity to develop and learn.

My **guiding concept** is the educative work environment: "the striving to maximize learning in the workplace through the way work, decision-making, technology and related processes are designed, maintained and redesigned. It includes the structuring and evaluating of work relationships based on their individual and mutual learning and knowledge-creation potential" (Leymann and Kornbluh, eds. Socialization and Learning at Work. Brookfield: Gower Publishing, 1989). I am particularly concerned to understand how persons can move from "learned helpnessness" to "empowered actors" within workplaces. To do so, workers must be able to (1) unlearn their deference to authority and demystify those social and political processes affecting negatively their lives, (2) be nurtured in this process by an enabler (mentor, resource, friend), (3) exercise their new understanding and competencies en a "spiral of increasing responsibility" and (4) learn within a framework of interdependence and mutuality.

The principles of empowerment learning have profound implications for work organizations in four main areas. First, developing **enabling learning roles** within work organizations provides a fresh way of thinking about the roles of managers and supervisors, professionals and technicians and workers. Managers and supervisors are challenged to move beyond the bureaucratic-Taylorist control model to becoming leader/enablers. Transforming their "supervisory function" would involve shifting as much responsibility for work and learning into worker groups. Professionals and technicians would shift to becoming resource people for workers. They would need to know to transmit and integrate what they know with what workers know. And workers would have to learn how to work effectively with resource people and rethink existing seniority and classification systems. Second, developing the work organization as a **learning milieu** requires that design processes provide learning opportunities. Third, **meaningful participatory processes** must be developed. Workplaces can be evaluated for the ways they incorporate principles of democratic decision-making. Workers ought to be included in "reflective action" -- they should not simply be doers. Time devoted to discussion for work planning and problem-solving, and opportunity to integrate reflection into job activities ought to be incorporated into work schedules. Workers can also learn to be co-researchers. Fourth, a **work climate** committed to learning ought to be created. Training for new roles and practice in a "supporting atmosphere is essential for establishing a learning climate" (ibid.).

Evidence from workplace life and academic reflection clearly indicates that workers have the capacity to manage themselves, and some engineers have proven they can work in multidisciplinary teams. We need to develop workplaces as "cultures of learning". But there are constraining factors to accomplishing the educative workplace. If we decide that we cannot or will not struggle for developmental, learner-centred work, what alternatives will we offer?

ETHICAL ISSUES IN UNIVERSITY EXTENSION WORK

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This paper focuses on cost-recovery as an ethical issue and explores the ramifications of cost-recovery in terms of (a) direction of extension work, and (b) the work of activists within extension. It explores the role of ideology in framing ethical issues.

Ce travail se concentre sur le recouvrement des frais engagés selon (a) la direction de l'enseignment continu et (b) le travail des activistes au sein de cet enseignement. Il explore le rôle de l'idéologie dans la postulation des questions d'éthique.

Adult education is filled with conflict and controversy. Adult educators have different values and backgrounds and they work in a variety of roles. What some adult educators see as ethical issues, others do not. Similarly, "what one person accepts as ethical behavior may be viewed as unethical by another" (Apps, 1985, p. 52).

There are two very distinct philosophies of adult education in Canada: education for social change versus education for individual change (Apps, 1985; Selman, 1985; Welton, 1987). Is the purpose of adult education to serve society or the individual? Should adult educators help people to change the system or fit into the system?

On the individualistic side of the debate, adult education is viewed as a business where adult educators compete for new programs and markets. The language focuses on terms such as "new markets," "market trends," and "clients." Adult education programs are designed for people who can pay. The social roots of adult education are dismissed.

On the social change side of the debate, adult education is seen as a means to promote social change in society. Adult educators believe the mandate of university extension must move beyond the individualistic 'course' approach and include a strong commitment to social change work. The language includes terms like "empowerment," "reflection," and "social vision." Social change oriented adult educators place high value on "promoting goals such as peace, equity, justice, and quality of life for all humans" (Cunningham, 1989, p. 41), and try to work with people who cannot pay.

What ethical issues do social change-oriented university extension staff experience in their work? How do they deal with these issues? How can extension staff become more cognizant of ethical concerns in their everyday practice?

These questions form Phase 2 of a longer-term research project. During Phase 1 (in 1989), I interviewed 18 social change-oriented university extension staff across Canada. I wanted to explore the problems they encounter in their work (Cruikshank, 1990). A number of problems they raised seemed, to me, to be ethical in nature. As a result, I decided to begin follow-up research on the ethical issues social change- oriented extension staff experience in their everyday practice. Using a standard qualitative research approach, and working from a social change perspective, I interviewed 10 people (six women and four men) from six university continuing education/extension units in Canada. All respondents approached extension work from a social change perspective. All have been given pseudonyms in an attempt to maintain anonymity.

Cost-Recovery

The main ethical issue that emerged from the interviews focuses on cost-recovery. For the most part, university extension departments in Canada are expected to cover their costs through fees. Many are expected to make a profit. For social change-oriented extension staff, cost-recovery is the main ethical issue they face. As Judith says:

> Who are we serving? It's clear to me who we're serving. We're serving people who can pay. To me, that's the largest ethical issue facing extension.

The focus on cost-recovery forces extension departments to take an entrepreneurial approach and market courses to individuals. Linda argues:

> There is no sense that there are people there with needs that we might work with. It's the pre-packaged stuff. The social purpose is lost. Making the bucks is the driving force within extension.

This issue strikes at the heart of the philosophical debate within university extension: is the purpose of extension to serve society or the individual? On the one hand, if we believe the mandate of extension is to serve the interests of society, then cost-recovery is unethical. Cost-recovery programs cater to people who can pay, focus on the delivery of "courses," and simply widen the gap between the rich and the poor. On the other hand, if we believe the mandate is to market courses and serve individuals, then cost recovery is 'good business.'

The Effect of Cost-Recovery on the Direction of Extension

The erosion of funding during the last few decades has resulted in a shift in the direction of extension. Where, in the past, at least some universities had a social change vision, this vision has been lost. The individualistic course approach is now the main focus of university extension which, in many cases, simply competes with business for clients. In fact, in North America, most mainstream adult education has been reduced to "technology that can be bought in the marketplace by the highest bidder" (Cunningham, 1988, p. 134). In keeping with the cost-recovery mandate, extension departments have decided to market programs to two distinct target groups: (a) business and industry, and (b) people who can pay. But what happens to people who cannot pay? For social activists, this is a major ethical question.

Rockhill (1985) argues that extension practice is defined by marketing strategies which result in the "commodification" of extension. For example, she says, "needs assessment has become a marketing, not an educational, strategy" (p. 212), a practice which is common in Keith's university. Keith says:

> There's pressure around dollars and cents. It becomes, "Okay, will this program make any bucks? How many bucks". It also determines pedagogical strategies, "Are we going to go for a lecture theatre or a small group?" Most of the time we go for a lecture theatre because we can crowd more people in and make more bucks.

By simply marketing courses, extension departments tend to have a very narrow purpose. Keith asks:

> If we become course mills, what does this do to what I call the prostitution of knowledge. Shaping it into a form that will sell and that will keep the reward system happy. You can do so much of that, but when do the universities begin to prostitute themselves to the highest bidder, or to the most money or to the biggest numbers?

Rockhill (1985) argues that "even the sense of responsibility to serve the educational needs is shifting" (p. 154). Where in the past, extension departments provided some degree of advocacy for adults not normally served by the university, they now focus on "those markets that can bear the high fees necessitated by self-support policies" (p. 154). In short, the main focus of university extension departments has shifted from that of serving community learning needs to that of 'bringing in money.' As Pittman (1989) points out, this shift has "had a trivializing effect on programming" and "has contributed to faddishness and superficiality" (p. 21). Nowhere is this more evident than in a recent edition of Course Trends, an American newsletter designed for adult educators. The February 1991 edition describes some course ideas as follows:

> Here are some hot tips for futuristic programs...They're perfect to publish in your April brochure!

> **Portuguese for Embezzlers: Living the Life in Brazil**
> Find yourself with a little extra cash? Need a place "to get away from it all?" Try Brazil! You'll learn from top experts the key phrases and local customs for dealing with Brazilian officials.
>
> **Decoupage with Disposable Diapers: Cleaning the Environment with Style**
> Don't let your child be part of the problem. Decorate your home while recycling! You'll also receive great gift ideas. (p. 14)

For social activists, this is a prime example of the irrelevance of a cost-recovery approach which, as Judith says, "panders" to those who can pay. Given the depth of the current economic recession, the high unemployment rate, and the prevalence of child hunger and poverty in the country, what are the ethics of squandering scarce university resources on such trivia?

Even when extension programs go beyond the traditional "course" approach, they still tend to focus on the middle-class who can pay for extension services. Colin provides an example:

> Elderhostel is essentially an upper middle-class program. It's a wonderful example of public relations and what we're doing with the senior community. Which is really bullshit, because all we're doing is serving rich Americans and we're not doing anything for the senior's community.
>
> We pulled out of it for a while, but we went back into it just to please the President. The President loves it so it gives us good relations with the President. Basically, it's a trade. We'll do this in order to get some other things. We pulled out of it on an ethical issue and went back to it on a pragmatic situation.
>
> It's a real problem. They (seniors) expect a certain level of service. They compare what we're offering in terms of meals to 48 other Elderhostels that they've been at. There's always that tendency to try to do your best and please people. It runs you ragged. And it does not address social problems. It's a recreation program for the upper middle-class.

Here we see the issue from the two philosophical perspectives. For people who espouse an entrepreneurial approach to extension work, an Elderhostel is good public relations and good business. However, for those who hold a social change orientation, the idea of spending time and money on an Elderhostel program raises serious ethical concerns. In short, activists believe that an Elderhostel program simply competes with local businesses for the tourist dollar and takes time away from serious work. From a social change perspective, one ethical question emerges. Should a publicly funded university squander its resources on recreation programs for outsiders?

For Colin, the consequences of taking a marketing approach are serious. He says, "once you start getting into that cost-recovery mode they don't expect you just to recover costs. They expect a profit. So you start sliding more and more." With the funding cuts to universities, extension programs now are seen, in some universities, as "cash cows" which should generate profits to subsidize other university activities. This has clear implications for the type of work that is done and the people with whom extension staff work. Colin adds:

> (Cost recovery) means that we're more and more dependent on a narrower social class. That's who university courses appeal to, but it puts us into the more elitist tradition of universities.

For Judith, even when interesting social change oriented "courses" are offered, the price is often so high that only the middle-class can attend.

> When I looked at the University of (___) calendar, I saw some things that might

> be of interest to women. Then I looked at the price of it! Even if you offer something that you might think is in the social change field and you have to put it on a cost-recovery basis, which is increasingly becoming not cost-recovery but profit making, why bother?

To Rockhill (1985), extension departments simply have become private business enterprises within public universities that no longer even pretend to serve people who cannot pay high fees. She says:

> Elitism is now an overtly accepted part of extension policy. The emphasis is clearly upon the design of high quality offerings for a highly educated population. (p. 168)

Some questions emerge:

1. What are the ethics of "marketing" extension programs? Is it ethical to reduce education to a product which can be bought and sold on the open market?
2. Is it ethical for publicly funded universities to develop such close linkages with special interest business and industry groups and deliberately ignore the poor?
3. Is it ethical to set high fees that only the middle-class can pay?
4. Is it ethical to squander scarce university resources on faddish courses for the middle-class?

How Does Cost-Recovery Affect Activists in their Everyday Practice?

We tend to assume that our personal values are congruent with those of our employing institutions. This is not always true. The dominant values within extension departments focus on individualism, specialization, competition, career, and objectivity. These values are the opposite of those espoused by most social activists. Susan says:

> One of the hardest things about coming into this job has been having to let go of some of the things I care for--such as caring about social change things but having to do market-oriented programming and things that are done in a way that doesn't do us justice. I've been involved in things that I don't want to put my name to. It's really hard for me. [I want to say] "please leave my name off the front page!"

The principle of cost-recovery prevents many staff from engaging in social change work. In most departments, extension staff get "brownie points" for "bringing in money." Annual evaluations tend to be based on (a) the number of courses programmed, and (b) the amount of money generated during the year. Consequently, because social change work takes time away from the money-making activities, staff are penalized for engaging in such work. Many universities hire extension staff on short-term contracts. The staff are required to generate enough money to pay for their salaries. If they cannot cover their salaries, they lose their jobs. The pressure to generate dollars can be intense.

The frustration, among staff who espouse a social change approach to adult education, is high. While many want to be actively involved in meaningful work, they lack the institutional mandate for such work. For example, Judith believes that extension staff should be "going to community meetings, bringing suggestions, and figuring out how to use the resources of the university." She says:

> I can't imagine how I could do that here. First of all, someone would want to know, "Did I get paid to go to the meeting?" Who is going to pay for my time to go to a meeting? That really puts a limitation on the kind of community development work you can do, or the kind of presence you can have in a community. Even if you're not going to undertake any community development work, just to be informed about what's going on in the community so you can

> undertake some program planning that's up-to-date, that's current with the thinking and activities of the rest of the world. You just become an insulated little unit that puts on courses that nobody comes to--which is what happens at Extension.

There are two types of rewards in the world of work, (a) extrinsic, which focus on money and security, and (b) intrinsic, which focus on pride, satisfaction and a feeling of doing meaningful work. The people I interviewed place a high value on intrinsic rewards. They want to apply social change values to their work. However, given the cost-recovery mandate, often this is not possible. Judith says:

> We all have our personal values. How we end up applying them is, to me, the essence of some of the ethical issues--and probably drives people away from extension because we can't apply them. We become unethical in our own minds because we can't deliver what we think the university should be doing.

The need for extrinsic rewards tends to take priority. The idealism of the 1960s is long gone. Given the economic realities of the 1990s, many extension staff do not have the luxury of being able to apply their values. They make compromises. They look to the long-term and hope that their short-term compromises will result in long-term gains. As Joan says, "you have to put bread on the table." Keith notes:

> For me, the ethical issue becomes one of how much compromising can I do in appearance and actuality in order to further the needs and resources of those groups who are often not served in our society. At times that means that, yes, I have to cave in and do what extension wants. How much compromise do I do in order to get the basic values furthered? It becomes a situation ethics.

Both Susan and Joan have become resigned to the cost-recovery mandate. They spoke of how they dealt with the value conflicts. Susan says:

> One of the ways I've dealt with it is to take a project which is similar with my workplace and do it with another organization. I do it the way I want--outside the organization. My organization has too many constraints.

Susan maintains an active involvement with voluntary groups with whom she holds compatible beliefs. In addition, she has two other strategies: (a) she tries to ensure that courses she develops include components which foster critical thinking, and (b) she tries to raise social change issues in staff meetings, in an attempt to heighten awareness of their importance. Joan adds:

> I think you have to make a distinction between your work and your job. One does one's work and one does one's job. Somehow we all have to put bread on the table and feed ourselves. So there's disagreeable things that have to be done that one would prefer not to do. Life is a continual compromise between doing one's work and doing one's job.

When I asked Joan to explain the difference between "work" and "job," she replies:

> Work is what you would do whether you got paid or not--that is important enough to be done, that you care about and that is your life's work. The job is what puts food on the table and the work is separate from the job.

Perhaps this is what happens in most extension departments in the 1990s. Because of the climate, social change oriented staff engage in political work outside their job, and do what they can to raise awareness of the importance of this work within their workplace. As Linda says, "you just keep picking away."

Role of Ideology in Framing Ethical Issues

As I noted in the introduction, Phase 1 of my research focused on the problems social change oriented extension staff experience in their everyday practice. Phase 2 has focused on ethical issue they face. The research results are almost identical. When I analyzed the transcripts, the same themes surfaced: (a) cost-recovery, and (b) the effect of this on social change oriented extension staff. I raised this with Judith, who says:

> Ethics don't exist in a vacuum. Your ethics are in relation to what your world view is. So you don't act in an unethical manner if you really do believe that the world is out there for exploitation. How one finds a place in heaven is to work hard and exploit the hell out of your neighbours. If you believe this then there's not too much you can do that's unethical.

In essence, our ethics flow from our ideology. Throughout this paper, I have attempted to show that the mandate of cost-recovery is an ethical issue only to people who believe that extension departments have a social responsibility to try to meet community learning needs, and that these needs cannot be met through the delivery of high priced "courses." Cost-recovery does not seem to be an ethical issue for people holding an entrepreneurial approach to adult education.

Cevero (1989) suggests that "ethical choices are not some abstract ideal but are embedded in the very fabric of practice" (p. 110). Because many educators believe that ethics is a "scientifically mystified field, available only to the professional philosophers" (Cunningham, 1988, p. 142), they tend to ignore ethical issues in their practice. In addition, because the dominant paradigm is so powerful within extension (Apps, 1985), ethical issues which are associated with this paradigm are left unchallenged.

It is important for social activists to constantly raise issues such as cost-recovery--and to raise them as ethical issues, I believe that it is only by constantly bringing ethical issues to the forefront and by relating them to our everyday practice, that we will be able to make change within our universities.

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A Study of Learning Styles Among Chinese and Canadian Nurses

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ABSTRACT. Despite different selection processes, teaching methods and career pathways for nurses, the learning styles of Chinese and Canadian nurses, as reflected by the Kolb Learning Inventory appear similar.

RESUME. Malgré l'utilisation de différents processus de selections de methodes d'enseignement et de cheminement de carrière pour les infirmières, les styles d'apprentissage des infirmières chinoises et canadiennes, selon le questionnaire sur le style d'apprentissage du modèle de Kolb, semblent être similaires.

INTRODUCTION

Kolb (1984) describes learning as the process whereby knowledge is constructed through the transformation of experience. He maintains that the structure of various disciplines exerts a set of learning demands on the learner which reflects a particular view of reality. Members of a discipline develop particular ways of dealing with the world and come to emphasize learning competencies most effective in acquiring the knowledge of the discipline. These competencies tend to cluster around different modes of learning and result in what Kolb refers to as a preferred learning style.

Kolb (1984) speculates that individuals are attracted to a particular discipline because they perceive similarities between the learning press of their environments and their personal learning orientation. He further maintains that when personal learning orientations are not congruent with environment demands, learners either change their orientation or leave the field.

The study of learning styles of Chinese nurses is interesting because it provides an opportunity to examine learning styles under unique conditions : conditions under which the individual neither selects the profession nor has the option of leaving it. Once admitted to the program, the Chinese nurses are exposed to a distinctive teaching methodology, obliged to develop a particular life style and required to pursue employment in situations involving limited choice.

By studying Chinese nurses we were able to examine the effects of limited choice, extreme environmental press nad the inability to change professions on the learning styles as identifies by Kolb of a particular occupational group. Thus we can note the learning styles of Chinese nurses and Canadian nurses when their pathways in the profession differ greatly.

CONTEXT OF NURSING IN CHINA AND CANADA

Unlike their Canadian counterparts, the majority of Chinese nurses do not select the nursing profession by choice.Johnston and Roberts (1989) reported that the rates of preference for nursing as a career option among non-university educated nurses was less than forty percent. The majority of entrants were selected from a pool of applicants who had been unsuccessful in gaining entrance to other choices. Correspondence with university administrators indicates that nursing continues to be the least popular choice for students at the university level.

Canadian university nursing students live much like other students.There is a specific life style required of Chinese nursing students.

Chinese nursing students and graduate nurses do not have the option of leaving the profession. In Canada students may leave and nurses can decide on whether they wish to stay in the profession.

Teaching methodologies used in China have distinctive characteristics. The methodologies that we observed and had reported to us appear to emphasize the authority of the teacher in disseminating information. The role of the learner tends to be passive and involves assimilation of facts and the rapid retrieval of large clusters of information by memory.

Our concern in this paper is not to assess the relative merits of one system compared to another but rather to examine the emergence of learning styles in similar professional groups where conditions of personal choice and environmental press differ.

METHODOLOGY

Data collection: Kolb's Learning Styles Inventory (LSI) 1985 and a demographic information sheet were translated into Chinese. The questionnaires were administered to thirty six nursing faculty at Tianjin Medical College. This sample included registered nurses who had received their education prior to the opening of university based schools. The sample included some recent graduates of the university program. They were scored and recorded and were returned the next day to the faculty with an interpretation of the individual results.

Instrumentation: The LSI is a forced choice self-report sentence completion questionnaire. The instrument contains 12 items and respondents are required to rank-order four sentence endings that correspond to each item. Individuals receive scores which represent their preferences for each of the four learning modes described in experiential learning theory. Learners are classified into one of four learning styles based on their preference for combinations of the four learning modes.

Smith and Kolb (1982) found internal consistency as measured by the Cronbach coefficient alpha (.73-.88, N=268) Excellent additivity (.91-1.07) was measured by Tukey's test (Smith and Kolb, 1986). Strong correlations (.89-.93, p,.001, N268)were found between the LSI (1985) and the original version of the LSI (1978). Split-half reliability using Spearman-Brown formula ranged from .71 to .85 (Smith and Kolb, 1986). Through factor analysis and Guttman's Smallest Space Analysis (coefficient of alienation =.18) Katz (1986) offered initial support for the construct validity of the LSI.

RESULTS of DATA ANALYSIS

Descriptive statistics: Fifty one percent of the nursing faculty in this sample were prepared at the diploma level and 48.5% had baccalaureate degrees. Forty-six percent were under 30 years of age, forty between 30 and 50 and the remainder over 50 . Fifty seven percent taught exclusively in the clinical setting and forty one percent exclusively in the clinical setting and two percent in both areas. The majority (51.4%) of faculty had 1-10 years of practice experience although the largest group (37.8%) had between 5-10 years of experience.

Similarily, forty percent had between one and five years teaching experience and sixty two percent had between one and ten years.

Forty-nine percent of the Chinese stated that nursing had been their first choice as a career. Nursing had been second choice for thirteen percent of the faculty and thirty eight indicated that nursing had not been a choice at all when first considering a career.

Chinese faculty members were generally satisfied with their choice of nursing as a career. (X=3.86, SD=.77). They strongly agreed that they preferred teaching nursing to nursing practice (X=4.58, SD=50). Learning style was not significantly related to either satisfaction with career choice nor preferred area of teaching nursing. Dougan(1982) found that differentiation could not be distinguished between areas of work in American nurses.

Faculty learning styles were significantly more concrete (85.3%) than abstract. (14.7%) (X=8.47, df=1, p .05) with diverger being the most frequently observed style (67.6%).Eleven percent were accomodators and 13.5% were assimilators. Interestingly, none of the faculty were convergers. Burke(1988) found that the perdominant style among nurse educator administrators was assimilators and Hodges(1988) found similar patterns.

Exploratory comparisons: Learning style was not found to be significantly related to any variables in the study of Chinese nursing faculty. However, many relationships were in the direction predicted in experiential learning theory. For instance, faculty with abstract learning styles were more satisfied with their careers as nurse educators and preferred teaching to practicing nursing more than faculty with concrete style. Learning styles did not vary as a function of age with concrete styles being observed consistently across age groups. This finding is consistent with Kolb's notion of stable disciplinary learning style characteristics.

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The results of this exploratory study provides some support for Kolb's experiential learning style theory in Chinese nursing educational settings. Chinese nurse educators were found to have predominantly concrete learning styles similar to nurses in Western culture. Kolb suggests that disciplinary learning demands shape the development of congruent learning styles. It appears that nursing in China exerts a similar environmental press to nursing elsewhere and as a result concrete learning styles are commonly observed among members of the discipline. These findings are consistent with those expected of human service workers.

This study is limited in the conclusions that can be drawn by the available sample in China. In studying only university nursing faculty the sample is restricted to nurses who had made a successful entry to the profession nad maintained this success throughout their careers. A greater homogeneity in learning styles is to be expected than might be the case with a sample of less successful nurses.

Kolb suggests that disciplinary learning environments shape the development of congruent learning styles. In a culture like China most education, including nursing education, tends to be dominated by the belief that the teacher is the active expert.It is unknown what effect this teaching style would have on the results of a questionairre such as Kolb's.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This study raises more questions for nursing in Canada and China than it answers. Possibilities for collaborative work certainly exists for nurses in both countries.

A longitudinal study of Canadian and Chinese nursing students as they progress through the nursing educational program would allow examination of whether changes occur over time. It would facilitate the study of those students in both cultures who do not exhibit the typical learning profile expected and required for successful integration into the nursing profession. The effect of this incongruence between learning style and environmental press on students' degree of cognitive and affective dissonance could be studied.

Assuming that there would be greater homogeneity in learning profiles at the end of the educational program than in the beginning, it would be interesting to determine at what points and for what reasons greater conformity begin to appear. In Canada nurses leave the profession for a variety of reasons. In would be interesting to see of those nurses whose learning style profile is different from the norm are the ones that actually leave the profession. Similarly, it would be interesting to see of those nurses in China who ask permission to leave also have a learning style profile at variance to that favoured by most practitioners in the profession.

CONCLUSIONS

Kolb's experiential learning theory appears to have some validity in studying Canadian nurses (Laschinger, 1990) and personal and environmental learning characteristics of Chinese nurse educators. Futher research is needed to explore other propositions suggested in the theory The time spent in China by the Canadian researchers was worthwhile for many reasons. A most encouraging aspect was the cooperation that was evident between the Chinese scholars and the Canadian visitors. This cooperation will extend to further collaborative research and should benifit both the Canadian and Chinese nurses and the nursing profession as a whole.

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QUELQUES DONNÉES SUR LE QUESTIONNEMENT DU VISITEUR DE MUSÉE[*]

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Comme les éducateurs scolaires, les éducateurs muséaux désirent susciter chez l'adulte une activité psychologique intense. Au musée, on croit que le visiteur est actif si les objets qu'il observe correspondent à ses préoccupations, à ses intérêts (Dufresne-Tassé, Lapointe, Lefèbvre, à paraître; Hooper-Greenhill, 1983) parce qu'alors ils réussissent à capter son attention (Chase, 1975), voire à susciter son émerveillement (Chase, 1975; Lewis, 1980). On croit aussi que l'activité du visiteur, une fois déclenchée, doit être entretenue, supportée (Alt et Griggs, 1984), dirigée (Screven, 1978), et l'on a mis au point des moyens dits de pédagogie silencieuse (Dobbs et Eisner, 1990) et des stratégies (Screven, 1978) pour le faire.

Bien que l'apparition de questions soit un des signes de l'activité intellectuelle auquel on attache une très grande importance, on ne sait pas encore quel rôle joue le questionnement dans le fonctionnement psychologique du visiteur. Nous avons étudié ce rôle chez 45 adultes de la région de Montréal qui visitaient une collection de mollusques dans un musée de sciences naturelles[**]. Ces adultes, des hommes et des femmes âgés de 25 à 65 ans, avaient trois habitudes de visite muséale et trois niveaux de formation différents. Pendant que ces personnes observaient les coquillages, nous avons enregistré leurs propos que nous avons ensuite dactylographiés. C'est sous cette forme que nous en avons fait l'analyse.

Vu que nous n'avons trouvé aucune étude portant sur les questions du visiteur adulte, il nous a semblé pertinent d'adopter une approche inductive. Nous avons dégagé progressivement des catégories d'analyse à la faveur de lectures successives du matériel, comme le suggèrent Miles et Huberman (1984). Nous avons ainsi établi le nombre de questions que se posent les 45 visiteurs, l'orientation de celles-ci, leur nature, leur enchaînement, le fait qu'elles contenaient ou non des éléments de réponse et les variations de chacun des aspects du questionnement avec le niveau de formation et les habitudes de visite. Faute d'espace, nous ne présentons ici que les données sur la fréquence des questions, leur orientation et leur nature.

FRÉQUENCE DES QUESTIONS

Nombre de visiteurs qui se posent des questions

Trente huit visiteurs sur 45, soit 84.4% se posent une ou plusieurs questions.

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[*] Cette recherche a été subventionnée par l'Université de Montréal, le CRSH et le FCAR.

[**] Le Musée Georges Préfontaine de l'Université de Montréal.

Il est curieux que plus de 15%[*] ne s'en posent pas, alors que les coquillages exposés sont exotiques pour des montréalais. A quoi cela tient-il? Nous ne saurions dire.

Nombre de questions

Les 45 visiteurs se posent 144 questions. La moyenne par personne est de 3.2, tandis que le mode est de 3. A première vue, ce nombre semble faible, mais l'absence d'autres études sur le sujet empêche toute évaluation sérieuse et toute interprétation de cette observation.

Le nombre de questions d'un visiteur va de 0 à 17, ce qui représente une grande variation. La valeur du σ: 3.12, illustre cette ampleur de variation.

De ces données, il ressort que la plupart des visiteurs se posent des questions, qu'ils ont tendance à s'en poser un petit nombre: 3, mais que cette tendance n'est pas générale, un certain nombre s'en posent une dizaine ou plus.

ORIENTATION DES QUESTIONS

Nous avons appelé orientation ce que vise une question et nous avons distingué deux types d'orientation: une orientation générale et une orientation par rapport à l'objet muséal.

Orientation générale

Nous avons identifié quatre cibles des questions: l'objet exposé, la présentation qu'en fait le musée, le visiteur et son fonctionnement, les conditions créées par la recherche. Voici quatre questions qui illustrent chacune de ces orientations.

> *"Ça s'appelle quoi?"* (objet)
> *"Je serais juste curieuse de savoir pourquoi ces, ces six là ou ces cinq là ont été mis ensemble, pis ceux-ci arrimés ensemble, tu vois? parce que surtout dans les classifications d'animaux comme ça, il faut avoir une raison pour les mettre ensemble, à par le fait que c'est beau"* (présentation)
> *"Vous avez des Français qui viennent?"* (visiteur)
> *"C'est moi qui dicte le rythme?"* (conditions créées par la recherche).

La proportion des questions suivant leur cible se lit ainsi (voir Tableau 1): 70.8% visent l'objet muséal, 15.3%, les conditions de la recherche à laquelle la personne participe, 9.7%, la présentation des objets et 4.2%, le visiteur.

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[*] Ces visiteurs ne se distinguent des autres ni par leur formation, ni par leurs habitudes de visite.

Tableau 1
RÉPARTITION DES QUESTIONS SELON LEUR ORIENTATION

Orientation	Nombre de questions	M	σ	%
Objet muséal	102	2.26	2.82	70.8
Présentation	14	0.31	0.72	9.7
Visiteur	6	0.13	0.40	4.2
Modalités de la recherche	22	0.48	0.86	15.3
TOTAL	144			

Le calcul du nombre moyen de questions visant les quatre cibles place chacune de celles-ci dans le même ordre par rapport aux trois autres que le calcul des pourcentages (voir Tableau 1). La valeur des σ indique une très grande dispersion des données autour de la moyenne.

Enfin, si l'on extrait des 144 questions les 22 qui portent sur la recherche et ses modalités, l'ordre d'importance des cibles est conservé et les pourcentages deviennent les suivants: 83.6% portent sur l'objet, 11.5%, sur sa présentation et 4.9%, sur le visiteur.

Orientation par rapport à l'objet

Lorsque le visiteur s'intéresse à l'objet, ses questions peuvent porter soit sur des caractéristiques de celui-ci visibles dans la présentation qu'en a faite le musée, soit sur des caractéristiques non visibles. Exemples:

> *"Couteau de l'Atlantique, ça serait donc un coquillage aussi?"* (caractéristiques visibles)
> *"J'aimerais ça savoir à quelle température ils sont, qu'est-ce qu'ils mangent, mais aussi, savoir si on peut les manger?"* (caractéristiques non visibles).

Les questions portant sur les aspects visibles représentent 30.5% de l'ensemble des questions recueillies, tandis que celles portant sur des aspects non visibles représentent 69.5% (voir Tableau 2).

Tableau 2
RÉPARTITION DES QUESTIONS SELON QU'ELLES PORTENT
SUR DES ASPECTS PRÉSENTS OU ABSENTS DES OBJETS

Orientation	Nombre de questions	M	σ	%
Aspects présents	44	0.98	1.08	30.5
Présentation	100	2.22	2.51	69.5
TOTAL	144			

En bref, les questions portent, pour la plupart, sur l'objet et, secondairement, sur la présentation de celui-ci. Quand les questions visent l'objet, ce sont surtout les aspects de celui-ci que le visiteur ne peut observer qui retiennent son attention. A notre avis, ces dernières données indiquent que le visiteur utilise beaucoup son imagination, puisque chaque fois qu'il s'interroge sur des choses qu'il ne peut voir sur place, il ne peut le faire qu'en s'appuyant sur son imagination.

Cependant, ici comme plus haut, il ne nous est pas possible d'expliquer ces résultats. Tiennent-ils à la présentation des objets, à la nature de ceux-ci?

La collection de coquillages était présentée dans des vitrines identiques, entièrement tendues de tissu soyeux bleu marine, chaque spécimen reposant sur un socle recouvert du même tissu et identifié par une carte blanche portant son nom scientifique, son nom vulgaire, sa provenance. Cette présentation très simple décourage-t-elle les questions sur elle-même? Concentre-t-elle l'attention sur l'objet? Ou bien la présentation de l'objet, quelle qu'elle soit, suscite-t-elle peu d'interrogations de la part du visiteur?

Comparé à une machine ou à une peinture, un coquillage est un objet relativement simple qu'un adulte a l'impression de saisir facilement lorsqu'il l'observe. Est-ce cette simplicité qui explique le peu de questions sur les aspects non visibles? En d'autres termes, les objets qui semblent facilement saisissables déclenchent-ils peu de questions sur eux-même ou est-ce le fait de tout objet, quelle que soit sa complexité? Doit-on penser que le visiteur est surtout attiré par les aspects cachés de l'objet qu'il observe et que les aspects présents dans l'exhibit ont avant tout pour fonction de déclencher des associations portant sur les aspects cachés?

NATURE DES QUESTIONS

Dans une recherche antérieure (Dufresne-Tassé, Lapointe, Morelli, à paraître), nous avons établi que le visiteur traite toute son expérience au moyen de 12 opérations intellectuelles. Ces opérations sont les suivantes: manifester, constater, identifier, se rappeler, associer, distinguer-comparer, saisir, expliquer-justifier, résoudre-modifier-suggérer, s'orienter, vérifier, évaluer. La nature d'une question est le but poursuivi par le visiteur lorsqu'il réalise l'une de ces opérations.

Les questions posées par les 45 visiteurs avaient quatre buts: identifier, décrire, expliquer et vérifier. Voici un exemple de question poursuivant chacun de ces buts.

> *"J'aimerais ça savoir s'ils viennent, heu, d'où?"* (identifier)
> *"Ça grandit (...) ligne par ligne?"* (décrire)
> *"Comment ça s'fait que lui y a un trou de même, pis là, t'as un autre trou d'une autre forme?"* (expliquer)
> *"Les moules, c'est-tu les moules, les moules qu'on mange?"* (vérifier)

Presque les trois quarts des questions (72.2%) ont pour but de vérifier ce que le visiteur sait ou pense à propos de l'objet (voir tableau 3). Le reste des questions tente surtout d'identifier des propriétés des objets observés (15.3%), d'en obtenir une description (7.6%) ou une explication (4.9%).

Tableau 3
RÉPARTITION DES QUESTIONS SELON LEUR NATURE

Nature	Nombre de questions	M	σ	%
Identification	22	0.48	1.15	15.3
Description	11	0.24	0.60	7.6
Explication	7	0.15	0.42	4.9
Vérification	104	2.28	2.08	72.2
TOTAL	144			

Que signifie la prédominance des deux catégories vérifier et identifier? Vérifier suppose une représentation des choses que le visiteur veut confirmer au contact de l'objet et, identifier, le désir de situer l'objet observé dans les schèmes qui structurent sa perception de l'univers. Dans les deux cas, le visiteur apporte ses connaissances dans la situation muséale, ou si l'on préfère, il est centré sur lui-même après avoir été stimulé par l'objet. Par contre, lorsque le visiteur demande une description ou une explication d'un phénomène rattaché à l'objet, il se préoccupe au premier chef de l'objet et il se montre ouvert à ce que celui-ci peut lui apporter de neuf. Nous sommes d'avis que dans ce cas seulement il fait preuve de véritable curiosité.

On a vu plus haut que prédominaient parmi les questions du visiteur celles qui portaient sur des aspects des objets non traités dans les exhibits. Les dernières données analysées permettent de croire que les éléments imaginaires apportés par le visiteur sont des parties de son expérience passée. La situation muséale analysée entraînerait donc une prédominance d'évocation de l'univers personnel du visiteur.

Quelle est l'attitude du visiteur vis-à-vis d'un fonctionnement dans lequel prévaut l'évocation de soi? Que lui apporte une telle évocation? Peut-elle, à elle seule, susciter plaisir et satisfaction? Doit-elle apparaître en alternance avec de la curiosité pour l'objet? Si la curiosité est nécessaire au fonctionnement harmonieux du visiteur, dans quelle proportion est-elle souhaitable?

QUELQUES CONSIDÉRATIONS

Les données présentées font ressortir deux types de fonctionnement du visiteur, l'un centré sur soi, l'autre sur l'objet, chacun impliquant l'imaginaire mais de façon différente. La valeur de l'un et de l'autre, celle de la curiosité, dépendent probablement de trois groupes de facteurs. De ce que le visiteur attend de ses contacts avec le monde d'abord, de son attitude vis-à-vis du savoir ensuite, en d'autres termes, de la part qu'il réserve à l'expression de soi et à l'exploration du monde dans sa quête de la connaissance. Enfin, cette valeur tient au contexte muséal créé par le type d'objets exposés (Dufresne-Tassé, Lapointe, Lefèbvre, à paraître), de même qu'au type de discours adopté par le concepteur d'exposition sur ces objets (Pearce, 1986 a, b, c, d). C'est à ce point que se situe l'intervention de l'éducateur.

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CASAE PEACE GROUP SYMPOSIUM

NEW APPROACHES TO SOCIAL ACTIVISM

Challenges facing the Adult Educator for Cultural and Social Transformation in the 1990's

Approches Nouvelles de l'activisme social

Défis confrontés par l'éducateur(-trice) adulte pour la transformation culturelle et sociale dans les années 1990

Rose A. Dyson (chair) with Nuzhat Siddiqui, Bill Fallis and Bill McQueen. O.I.S.E. Toronto

Lors de ce colloque, les écrits et les enseignements de Madan Lal Handa vont être présentés pour discussion. Madan Handa a enseigné, jusqu'à sa mort en 1990, au Département de Sociologie à l'Institute d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario, où il a attiré plusieurs étudiants du département de l'éducation des adultes, avec des intérêts particuliers pour les problèmes sociaux critiques qui se présentent au niveau global, national et communautaire. Ses contributions marquent une étape importante dans la pensée contemporaine sur le sujet de la paix globale, et ses activités se caractèrisaient par un sentiment d'urgence pour une réponse académique à 'la crise globale'. Elles présentent une approche institutionnelle renouvellée de l'activisme social qui ferait partie intégrante de l'éducation des adultes.

This symposium focuses on the writing and teaching of Madan Lal Handa who, until his death in 1990, taught in the Sociology Dept. at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. As a pioneer in peace studies at the Institute, he attracted many students from the Dept. of Adult Education with particular interests in critical social issues at global, national and community levels. His contributions mark a milestone in contemporary thought on the subject of global peace and his activities were characterized by a sense of urgency for academic response to the growing global crisis. They resonate with a renewed Institutional focus on social activism as an integral part of adult education.

Syeda Nuzhat Siddiqui. Ph.D. Candidate, Dept. of Sociology, O.I.S.E.

THE COSMIC WAY PARADIGM:

An Alternative Developed By Maitreya Handa

Madan Lal Handa came to O.I.S.E. in 1966, the year he completed his doctorate in Econometrics at the London School of Economics in England. In spiritual circles he is also known as MAITREYA which means compassionate friend. He was the founder of the COSMIC WAY: the way of oneness of all things. It is a global network based on the philosophy of his book, the *Gospel of Peace*.

Handa was a unique teacher within academia. As a professional social scientist he had wide interests, doing graduate teaching and writing ranging over topics which included political economy, third world thought, a Gandhian perspective, eastern philosophies and historiography. In the last ten years, his major work had been in developing a new world outlook called the COSMIC WAY PARADIGM: an integral peace paradigm that bridges social and spiritual dimensions of life and explores the interconnections between spirituality, ecology and world peace. He says,

> One basic feature of my conception is that individual and social peace are inseparable. The individual spiritual transformation and the transformation of the present day violent social structures are inevitably linked processes. The

> forging of the link between spirituality and politics is the key toward creating a better and a peaceful world. (Handa, 1983,p.35)

To understand the Cosmic Way Paradigm and its historical importance, it is necessary to introduce the concept of paradigm and the context of the paradigm shift. Paradigm is an expression meaning a mind set, or a world view which also enables us to change it. T.S. Kuhn brought the notion of the paradigm into the academic sphere within the context of new puzzles as these arose in the physical sciences. In the history of thought, it is evident that a paradigm shift takes place as a response to a major crisis in social systems. At present, human society is indeed facing a very deep crisis. The response, based on research done by groups and individuals can be broadly classified as the following. a) system maintaining approaches, b) system reforming approaches and, c) system transforming approaches.

The first two approaches are not geared for any fundamental change in the existing social order. They emphasize technical solutions and are usually advanced by governing groups and their supporting elite class. Their object is economic growth measured by the gross national product. Any means facilitating this growth are positive and anything hindering this growth is considered negative.

System transforming approaches emphasize basic change in the political and economic structure of the present world order based on new value systems. Intellectuals adopting these approaches agree upon the destructive properties of the present state system. They favour non-state actors to help in transition to new models, with minimum violence.

Besides efforts being made to conceptualize a new world order there are non governmental actors such as Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the International League of Human Rights which have their primary allegiance to world order values rather than to territorial, religious or racial constraints. William Bundy writes,

> Something beyond nationalism is slowly taking root in the world...the signs of a developing sense of common human destiny are present. Such a sense cannot substitute for a careful focus on the present and pressing problems that can only be met through nations. But world affairs will have a very dim future if this universal sentiment fails to show a steady increase from now. (Bundy, 1977, p.26)

Richard Falk also sees hopeful signs. He says,

> In recent years, I believe this new possibility offers system transforming approaches, a rich opportunity to take steps to found a movement to formulate an ideology and build bridges between thought and action in the realm of global reform. (Falk et el., 1982, p. 165)

Nonetheless, most intellectuals are mainly involved in trying to understand the contradictions created by the two existing political ideologies, namely Marxism and Capitalism, and are still unable to develop an outlook completely independent of existing paradigms while the nature of the problems created by them demands an alternative. It is in this arena of thought that Handa advocates an alternative, integral, peace paradigm. He focuses on the increasing unlikelihood of human survival and life on Earth as we know it unless the present world order is changed. According to Handa, the present day nation state system is at the highest stage of violent social orders ever known. He says,

> The economies are violent because they are interwoven with the arms industry, the industry of production of violent means...and repressive technology that is extractive of mankind and not developmental to it. Technology is not only violent to mankind but to all life on this earth and to our environment. Our educational systems breed violent consciousness that supports and rationalizes the violence of the state and of the economic system. Our media is a part of this consciousness making industry. So there is a world of violent social structures and violent consciousness, the two reinforcing each other. (Handa, 1983, pp. 21-22)

Handa finds similarities in both bourgeois and Marxist viewpoints. According to him, both have a materialist conception of man and nature, both have a linear conception of economic growth and hence are anti-ecological. Both are nation state paradigms and have a centralist conception of society. Both interpret today's world as materially and technologically advanced, leaving aside the negative points of this civilization.

Peace is not a central issue in the existing paradigms. Handa's model incorporates the process of making peace in political, social and personal life. According to him, focusing on power relations without individual or collective spiritual transformation, or talking of individual peace and neglecting the social structures in which that individual is located is not good enough. Thus inner and outer peace are inseparable. This conception includes ecological concerns as a necessary component in a peaceful social structure.

Survival from war is Handa's immediate goal and creating a peaceful world order is the long term agenda in this struggle. This means addressing the nuclearization of the Globe, environmental degradation, the energy crisis, underdevelopment of third world economics, poverty and disease. A deeper analysis shows that the Global crisis is a civilizational crisis, based on social orders, outlooks and values, which have emerged from 1500 A.D. up to the present. Humanity, he says, is also facing an evolutionary crisis and the need to discover its future evolutionary potential within its place and role in the cosmos. Within this present dead end of existing modern paradigms a process of paradigm shift is underway and must be accelerated.

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THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATORS IN FACILITATING PEACE

How can we as adult educators further the development of peace in our world community?

Madan Handa's work and philosophy is an appropriate paradigm with which to answer this question. Of particular importance is his connection between the social and the spiritual forces in our world. As he writes, "It is obvious from historical evidence that social action, devoid of spiritual consciousness...a bare set of intellectual beliefs... has not proven adequate." (p.192) It should be remembered that adult education in Canada was born from a secular set of principles on the part of religious men and women. Father Moses Coady of the Antigonish Movement and Reverend Alfred Fitzpatrick of Frontier College are two examples of our religious heritage in adult education. Both men and others in the field felt the need to serve their communities. This vocational calling could be similar to a missionary calling. In their work these adults attempted to equalize relationships between men and women, rich and poor, immigrant and established residents in their communities. Today, adult education tends not to emphasize the religious context from which it began. An important study would be to uncover the religious principles that guided the formation of adult educational thought in Canada.

One of Handa's challenges to adult educators involved in community development is to reclaim the spiritual element: the acquiring or striving for goals beyond the self and towards a new world vision that is peaceful and in harmony with nature.

Within the field of adult education and social work, models of community development have emerged. The humanistic, progressive and radical traditions of adult education are elements of community development and focus on the ability of adults to learn and to change and to affect their environment because of their learning. Community organizing can be undertaken through the following models, locality development, social planning and social action. Locality development works with all members of the community attempting to solve problems through discussion leading to consensus. Social planning relies on the results of social research to frame the problem and produce answers. Social action involves the organizing of oppressed groups within the community in an attempt to empower themselves. There are many similarities between social and radical action and also between locality development and progressive approaches.

But these models of community development are lacking in the 1990's. Even with recent approaches of "participatory research" and "popular education" we continue to deal with concepts that do not radically change our view of the social, economic and political world in which we live. Both capitalism and socialism are anchored in the present economic and political realities and lack a holistic view of other forces impacting on our lives. The importance of the spiritual on the social order needs to be given prominence in the future.

We need a new value system that takes us away from power politics and conflict perspectives. Handa helps us to see the connection between the spiritual and the social in a new way that challenges us to rethink our present models and approaches. As adult educators we need to challenge our students and our colleagues to explore different ways of framing this world of ours. Ways that bridge the gap between the spiritual and the social dimensions in our lives. Such explorations could further our ultimate goal; a world community at peace with itself.

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OISE TEACH-IN AGAINST THE GULF WAR: An experiment in pardigm shift

Before our very eyes, the social and natural world is in great turmoil, like the ancient image of Heraclitus, a raging river that flows continuously, full of torrents and eddies, into which we have never stepped once. Life is incessant motion! (Wheelwright, 1959.)

People around the world who turned on their radio or television after 7 P.M. E.S.T. North American time on January 16, 1991 discovered that a major war had begun. Those who opened their newspaper the next morning found such headlines as the one on the front page of *The Globe and Mail*

Resistance minimal Pentagon claims success Canada backs U.S.
ALLIES BOMB IRAQ, KUWAIT

The rumours of war that had spread throughout societies and nations around the Earth had come to pass. A significantly changed social condition amongst humans had occurred. Of course it had not been possible to return to the *status ante* August 2, 1990 when the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait destabilized world societies, and now, later, when the invasion of Iraq by the U.S. and other countries further destabilized the situation.

In the period prior to the United States led invasion of Iraq an intense media campaign of war hysteria had been developed in preparation for that invasion. War and the images of war were presented as the ultimate way to right wrongs done and in the words of the analysis of the *New Yorker Magazine* that discussed alternative, and peaceful means of resolving the Gulf conflict, including economic sanctions and diplomacy.

> It was evident from conversations with Administration officials from very early on that some of them believed it would come to war——and that some thought that just as well. Once the President committed the nation to the liberation of Kuwait, the policy of starting with sanctions and of at least appearing to pursue the diplomatic course while the troops and equipment were dispatched to the Gulf region had its own logic, whether the outcome was to be a peaceful solution or war. It was clear from very early on that some officials saw sanctions and diplomacy as the necessary political precursors of war——that each would be, as one official put it, "a box to check." In the early days an official said to me the President would be able to say that he had tried diplomacy. They were also the necessary logistical precursors of war: the military needed time to build up its forces in the Gulf region. (Drew, February 4, 1991. pp 82-90)

Madan Handa, among many others, has recognized the need for a new peaceful path[1] forward for humanity, for world harmony built on the basis of peace and in a spirit of respect between nations and peoples.

This new condition following the invasion of Kuwait/Iraq that began in January brought together a diversity of persons working or studying at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education to form the *OISE Community Against the Gulf War*. Those persons gathered were against war and for a peaceful world. The subsequent activity of this group would exhibit a number of important principles in the education of adults such as practising fundamental and basic democracy, developing maximum human potential, incorporation of multi-disciplinary approaches, creation of a safe learning environment in which to make sense of life problems, first person learning, participatory research and taking responsibility for individual participation in solving social questions.

Following an initial brainstorming session that produced no less than 22 concerns, it was decided to pursue a major programme planning effort: the organizing of a Teach-In for the entire population of the Institute. The focus was on peaceful methods to resolution of conflict. Presentations offered discussion about the morality of war, role of media in shaping public opinion, global economy and futures, the introduction of ideas of war through 'military toys,' along with creative events like song writing, poetry readings, and a musical presentation by the popular anti-apartheid music group *League of Nations*. The holistic approach to the presentation involved more than 400 persons.

Important lessons of community were learned in this participatory activity. The persons who participated had experienced shock, disbelief, pessimism and depression. Before the activity had been organized there had been issues of control, "roller coasters of emotion" and a general feeling of powerlessness in the face of powerful forces. As the period of preparation for the Teach-In passed and the Teach-In itself was carried out, a democratic sentiment grew and gave rise to new discussions and preparations for action that would contribute to developing a peaceful world.

The creation of new paths towards peace is fundamental for the survival of the species. But the desire to achieve peace in world organization is not to seek a *static* condition, but a condition wherein problems may be solved without resorting to intra-species violence, or violence against other species who inhabit the natural world with us.

STOP THE WAR[2]

Refrain: Stop the war! Let's get together! We must keep working for a lasting peace!
Stop the war! Peace is within us. We can't move forward if we keep sliding back!
[Repeated three times after each of the following verses:]

1. Lead vocalist: Patiently...
Chorus: *We will work together!*
Lead vocalist: Urgently...
Chorus: *Work to end the war!*
[Refrain]

2. Lead vocalist: Patiently...
Chorus: *We will build a vision!*
Lead vocalist: Urgently...
Chorus: *Open up the door!*
[Refrain]

3. Lead vocalist: Patiently...
Chorus: *Listen to each other!*
Lead vocalist: Urgently...
Chorus: *Speak out strong!*
[Refrain]

4. Lead vocalist: Patiently...
Chorus: *Learn another language!*
Lead vocalist: Urgently...

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[1] For the word "path," one may read model, paradigm, social organization, or other word that is a meaningful word for the reader to express a process of change, moving from the status quo to a new peacefully organized world.

[2] Song composed by "Anti-War Music & Songwriting Sweatshop" participants. OISE Community Against the Gulf War. PEACE TEACH-IN. Feb. 19, 1991 at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

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The Impact of a Collaborative Workshop Based on Feminist Pedagogy
A Case Study

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ABSTRACT

This article describes a continuing education program designed to prepare nurses to realize their potential power and to develop skills for effectively bringing about changes in their workplaces. An assessment of the impact of the workshop demonstrated that participants were able to apply some of the skills and concepts learned to their workplaces and make desired changes.

RESUME

Cet article décrit un programme élaboré par l'éducation permanente pour préparer les infirmières à réaliser leur pouvoir potentiel et à développer chez elles les habilitées nécessaires pour effectuer d'une façon efficace des changements dans leurs lieux de travail. Une évaluation de l'impact de l'atelier démontra que les participants furent capables de mettre en application dans leurs lieux de travail les compétences et les concepts appris et y apporter les changements désirés.

INTRODUCTION

The School of Nursing and the Continuing Education Division at The University of Manitoba in cooperation with the Manitoba Nurses' Union (MNU) invited two nurses with expertise in politics and change in nursing to collaborate with them in developing and conducting a two-day continuing education workshop entitled ***Affecting Change in the Workplace***. The workshop was based on the need to include nurses to a greater extent in the decision-making processes in their workplaces.

The continuing education program was designed to prepare nurses to realize their potential power and to develop skills for effectively bringing about changes in the workplace. To determine whether the program had long-term results, a follow-up study was undertaken seven months after the workshop. The development and planning of this workshop on empowering nurses to bring about changes in the workplace is an example of a collaborative venture based on feminist pedagogy.

This article describes the effectiveness of collaborative ventures, impact evaluation, and use of feminist pedagogy in the development and implementation of continuing education programs.

COLLABORATION

Programs in partnerships between associations and institutions can be used productively to enhance the success of continuing professional education programs. Collaborative ventures according to Cervero (1984) are emerging as a major issue in continuing professional education. Stern (1983) and Dahl (1980) state that not only is there a need for more collaboration among providers of continuing professional education but that collaboration should be encouraged. Although little attention has been given to the best way of developing collaborative arrangements, these ventures will become increasing more common and necessary to the effective delivery of continuing professional education programs (Hohmann, 1985).

The School of Nursing and the Continuing Education Division had determined that the purpose of collaborative arrangements with other institutions should be to facilitate the delivery of professional continuing education programs which meet the needs of nurses by involving nurses from a variety of settings in program planning and delivery. It was expected that this approach would enhance the relationship between the University and its constituents and would provide an opportunity for nurses to participate in continuing education programs that otherwise might not be available. The School of Nursing and the MNU contributed knowledge of the nursing profession, enabling the planners to clearly identify the education needs. The Continuing Education Division contributed expertise in program planning, marketing, and administration.

A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

The overall theme of the workshop was to empower nurses to take action for the benefit of themselves and their patients or clients. Empowerment can be defined as "...a process aimed at ... changing the nature and distribution of power in a particular cultural context" (Bookman & Morgen, 1988). In feminist circles empowerment has generally been considered to be a more appropriate approach to power than traditional male models of power-grabbing. Many women and nurses have different values and perspectives than men who have dominated both power and decision making in the health care system. It is important for nurses to listen to each other's views, thus bringing a different ethic to the male-dominated worlds of politics and the health care system. Using a feminist perspective was deemed relevant for the male participants as they too are affected by society's attitudes towards a predominantly female profession. It was the belief of the workshop presenters that empowering nurses was not only important to nurses' health and growth but to the profession as well.

A feminist perspective on power, politics, and change in nursing practice was examined through feminist theory and relevant research. Feminist pedagogy is based on two assumptions - that all the educational needs of women are not necessarily met through traditional models of education and that education should serve as a means for both individual development and social change. According to feminist pedagogy educational benefits cannot be fully realized unless learners can apply acquired knowledge to make changes in their own lives and society. According to Freire's (1968) concept of praxis, the integration of theory and action, and feminist education, the education process is not complete unless learners take concrete steps to apply what they learned toward change.

In many ways feminist pedagogy is similar to the learning theories of adult and continuing education. The similarities include the cooperative pattern in a mutual process of personal development and learning, personal insight from life experiences reflecting both cognitive and affective learning, promotion of personal and societal improvement, catalytic social transformation, and collaboration on the part of both instructor and learners.

Collaboration in planning, conducting, and evaluating learning activities and outcomes is at the heart of feminist pedagogy. Perhaps the most important insight from recent research is that both men and women might benefit from feminist pedagogy which encourages positive personal growth and expanded ways of learning, utilizes the strengths of all learners, and encourages the development of strategies for social change (Hayes, 1989).

The intensive two-day workshop was intended to provide nurses with an understanding of the concepts of power, politics, and conflict and to develop skills and strategies to enhance their power and influence in the workplace. The objectives of the workshop were to describe how feminist theory and research can influence nurses' perspectives on politically astute change; define a framework for political action; identify strategies to increase one's power base, develop a support base, and manage conflict in the workplace; and develop a plan for change.

SHORT-TERM EVALUATION

As with most programs offered by the Continuing Education Division at The University of Manitoba participants were asked to complete an evaluation immediately following the workshop. The short-term evaluation was completed by 50 of the 59 nurses that participated in the workshop. The evaluations were overwhelmingly positive - 41 of the participants evaluated the program as excellent and 9 participants as very good on a 5 point scale where 5 was excellent and 4 was very good. The comments indicated that the content was relevant to their practice and they were motivated to return to the workplace to implement a plan for change. All participants felt equipped with the necessary skills to meet the challenges of affecting change in the workplace.

Although pleased with the evaluations, the program presenters questioned whether there were lasting effects of the program. To determine whether ongoing support would be needed to apply what they learned to bring about change, a follow-up study was conducted seven months later.

LONG-TERM EVALUATION AND IMPACT

According to Knox (1979) "evaluating the impact of education means going beyond measures of satisfaction and learning gain, to assessment of practical application in terms of changed performance and societal benefits." Although program planners use evaluation procedures to improve the quality of educational programs less effort is put into assessing the impact. One of the most important challenges confronting continuing educators is the need to assess the impact of both adult and continuing education programs (Boone, Fox and Joseph, 1979).

A follow-up questionnaire was developed by the workshop leaders in consultation with the program planners. The purpose of the evaluation was to determine whether the participants were able to apply what they had learned in the workshop to their workplace and whether they were able to make the desired changes.

Fifty-five questionnaires were mailed seven months after the workshop. Thirty-three questionnaires were completed and returned for a response rate of 60%. The results indicated that the workshop was a success and that there had been a need for the educational workshop.

Participants were asked to indicate if they felt they had increased their power base since the workshop and to indicate the sources of power used. Thirty-two of the 33 participants responded in the affirmative. Participants reported that they had used a variety of sources of power; some reported that they had used several - information reward, connection legitimate, expert, and coercive. It should be noted that only 30% identified that they had derived power from their expertise as nurses. As identified and discussed in the workshop more attention should perhaps be given to the political reality of how traditionally female professions have been regarded by society and the extent to which nurses accept and extend devaluations of the expertise required for excellence in nursing.

Participants were also asked whether they had increased their professional connections or networks since attending the workshop. The workshop encouraged developing connections with legislators and community leaders as these individuals have significant influence on nurses' issues. Twenty-nine participants (88%) said they had increased their connections and networks, only 27% of the participants had connected or networked with legislators, and 24% had made connections with community leaders.

Another concept emphasized during the program and assessed in the follow-up questionnaire was mentoring. Mentoring can be a vehicle for sharing one's power, networks, and expertise. It is a method for empowering others and a means for professional support. To be an effective mentor one must have a high level of self-confidence and a strong commitment to the development of others. More than 50% of the participants said they had sought out or more effectively used a mentor for themselves and 50% indicated they had been a mentor.

To determine whether the participants were able to affect a desired change in the workplace participants were asked if a change had occurred and if so what type of change. Most of the participants (91%) were able to surmount obstacles in the workplace and affect a desired change in the workplace. Some were able to make small changes while others made dramatic institution-wide changes.

One participant clearly stood out from the others in terms of her response. She did not feel that she benefitted from the program, was unable to make changes in her workplace, and although she had tried some of the methods to increase her power base, did not feel she was successful. The feminist context mandates that dissenting voices be heard and respected. According to feminist educational theory, for an event to be truly collaborative, every student must take responsibility for the learning of every member of the group including her own. This sense of shared responsibility, however, does not evolve naturally for those not accustomed to this learning format (Hayes, 1989).

It is not known whether the 40% who did not respond to the follow-up questionnaire found the workshop to be of long-term benefit.

CONCLUSION

The partnership was successful in using the expertise of each group to provide a professional nursing continuing education that addressed topics of concern to a specific target audience of nurses. The development of this workshop based on feminist pedagogy and employing a feminist perspective provided evidence that ventures of a somewhat nontraditional nature can be effective and have an impact on participants. This workshop illustrated that participants of continuing professional education programs can acquire specific knowledge and skills and incorporate some of the learned-dimensions into their workplace to bring about desired changes.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The impact of this workshop was examined seven months after the event giving a limited perspective of the long-term effect. A longitudinal study over a two-year period, for example, would give a better indication of the effectiveness and impact of a workshop and identify the need for further programs to promote personal improvement and societal change. Other research might focus on the differential impact of various teaching styles, program formats, or participants from the various professions. The research design of impact studies could be improved by using a nonparticipatory control group. As the literature indicates that both men and women could benefit from continuing professional education programs employing a feminist approach, the differential impact on male and female participants of these programs could be studied. Further studies could compare the benefits of collaborative programs among various target audiences or professions.

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WHEN INSTITUTIONS COLLABORATE

H. Geissinger

Educational institutions collaborate with each other for many reasons. Often, they are urged into cooperative efforts by funding agencies. The dynamics present in the collaboration impact on its functioning, sometimes with disastrous results. This paper describes the factors which influence collaborative relationships and shows how they interact with each other.

WHEN INSTITUTIONS COLLABORATE

Education is a highly social endeavour, yet many organizations which have the primary purpose of providing education do so in relative isolation from each other. With cutbacks in funding and the prominence of resourcing problems, especially in the field of higher education, it is not surprising that governments in many countries encourage institutions to collaborate together in meeting educational goals. The resources to be shared range from faculty expertise to physical plant. This sharing, like many other human interactions, is fraught with status and autonomy problems and laced with preconceptions about inequitable outcomes (Konrad & Small, 1989; LeSage, 1988).

A number of authors have reported on collaborations between educational institutions and/or other groups. The literature is now supplied with accounts in which each author, as participant, describes the factors which impacted on the progress of a collaboration (Crick, 1980; Munn & Morrison, 1984 ; Moran, 1990). This paper collects these factors under three headings and attempts to show how they are common to the collaboration process and how they can interact in ways which determine the success or failure of the project.

Most authors are forthright in declaring the need for trust in the collaborative relationship (Konrad & Small, 1986; LeSage, 1988; Naidu, 1988). They support the clear declaration of, and attainment of full agreement about, goals and objectives, and for the allocation of appropriate time, money and resources. Some even provide recommendations for the furtherance of the project, with detailed remedies for problems they have encountered and hopeful prognostications for the future (Munn & Morrison, 1984; Trubowitz, 1990). They draw distinctions among the factors which influence relationships between like organizations (such as two junior colleges) and institutions which provide services to different groups (such as a university and a secondary school) (Trubowitz, 1984).
It is likely that the same factors are present in all the relationships to some degree and that their obvious presence or apparent absence has more to do with the interactions of the personalities involved than with a difference in kind. For example, two collaborating colleges might have difficulty agreeing on the delivery of a program to a target group, since they would be competing for enrolment. Hidden in that disagreement are factors such as staffing loads and budget control, which are contentious issues in other circumstances as well. When a university and a secondary school collaborate, the most obvious challenge lies in the perceived differences in status, expertise and resources. The higher education partner experiences great difficulty in

respecting the expertise and contributions of the secondary school partner. But here again, the hidden factors are staffing loads and budget control. Authors note the presence of genuine goodwill and respect among the partners in the collaboration as being elements which diminish the influence of deleterious factors (LeSage, 1988; Moran, 1990)

This paper will discuss the Lakehead-Waterloo Distance Education Projects as an illustration of the dynamics of the factors in involved in collaborative relationships. This partnership involved the development and delivery of new courses to distance education students. Course writing, on a genuinely collaborative basis, is one of the most challenging activities in which a partnership can engage. Lakehead University, in the city of Thunder Bay, is situated in Northern Ontario and the University of Waterloo, 1500 k distant, is in the city of Waterloo, Southern Ontario. Faculty from these institutions agreed to work together to develop and deliver two professional programs, consisting of thirteen half-courses, to distance education students (Geissinger, 1990). The agreement was reached as a result of another collaboration, in which the Government of Ontario funded the development of a distance education delivery system in Northern Ontario, where a group of northern community colleges and universities agreed to form a network to house the facilities and pool resources. The network, Contact North/Contact Nord, received funds for setting up and staffing the facilities and also for the Northern Distance Education Fund (NDEF).

Specific criteria for the allocation of NDEF support required a participating northern institution to collaborate with another appropriate institution (location unspecified) to develop academic programs suitable for delivery to northern students; the programs must be new (not currently available in Ontario) and be developed by the use of team approaches (Anderson & Nelson, 1989).

The NDEF program development announcement encouraged a number of educational organizations to submit proposals. Ultimately, fifteen full-degree or certificate programs were funded. During the two-year funding period, a number of projects were not completed, some underwent a restatement of objectives, and the remainder reached completion with a fair degree of adherence to the undertakings they had originally proposed (Geissinger, 1990).

The Lakehead-Waterloo projects were completed on time and faculty from both universities were involved in fully-collaborative writing teams for each course. These major accomplishments were achieved through a combination of favourable factors, one of which was the hiring of experienced staff from outside the universities to help the participants set objectives, implement the agreed-on activites, and maintain the many strands of communication required to keep the participation active on both campuses. As Trubowitz (1990) has noted, the staff who administer and coordinate projects like this need special qualities in the areas of communication, facilitation, organization and leadership. The two staff members (one on each campus) devoted their full time, attention and energy to the course development and production of media. Had they been seconded from within the organizational structure, they would likely have had less time available and been constrained in their activities by territorial considerations or interinstitutional rivalries (LeSage, 1988). As it was, they were free to establish common ground on which the joint meetings, course writing and media production took place, in an atmosphere of open communication and shared objectives. Since the funding from NDEF was "outside" money, neither institution was required to contribute from its own budget. Control remained within the collaboration; the general allocation of funds occurred through joint decisions. Thus, a set of factors having to do with "turf" and institutional control were less influential on the progress of this partnership.

Any collaborative relationship is influenced by three major sets of factors. Reality factors have to do with concrete circumstances, such as the provision of meeting times and places, getting word-processing done, and having appropriate, sufficient funding to carry out the project's objectives. Political factors influence the accomplishing of goals within the frameworks of institutions which differ in terms of philosophy, degree of control of faculty and staff activities, and maintenance of boundaries. Ego Influence factors involve everything from faculty unhappiness with monetary recompense, through the individual member's degree of tolerance of delays and mistakes, to concepts of academic freedom and how it impacts on the team effort. The political and ego components of the relationship are often hard to identify because the participants may not have declared their hidden agendas even to themselves. The allocation of rewards, although seen as a "reality" factor, is strongly impacted by veiled political and ego factors, especially as desirable rewards may consist of status and prestige symbols.

In the Lakehead/Waterloo projects, another factor facilitated the development of quality materials -- the use of a flexible instructional design model. Robert Gagne's Nine Steps model (Gagne, Briggs & Wager, 1988) allowed faculty to unfold many of their best ideas for content development within a framework which provided a variety of learning opportunities for distance students. The model encouraged creativity on the part of course writers and permitted a variety of development and delivery mechanisms which still conformed to the institutional constraint of providing academic programs and student assessment within the semester system.

Although the faculty engaged in the Lakehead/Waterloo projects agreed that open communication and trust were desirable elements, these both required the constant attention of project staff. The two universities, besides being geographically distant, differ in size, types of on-campus programs and expertise of faculty. Most of the course writers' meetings were conducted by teleconference. Project staff took notes during the meetings and then circulated copies to help remind participants of their ideas, commitments and agreed deadlines. Electronic mail became a daily feature of communication, as did Priority Post for the continual exchange of drafts of developed content. The twenty faculty members who took part in the projects necessarily had many calls on their time. Whenever a faculty member became incommunicado, project staff actively monitored the situation and helped restore communication lines as soon as possible. Favorable ego factors were commitments by faculty to write quality material, to participate in team work and to meet deadlines.

A necessary ingredient of success in such a project is the acknowledgement of support from organization leaders (Trubowitz, 1984; Johnson, 1988). The presidents of Waterloo and Lakehead universities did indeed endorse the collaboration. This support helped administrative and academic staff to settle many details, such as the provision of accounting services, the allocation of copyright and royalties, payments to the course writers (even though one faculty was unionized), the provision of facilities and resources for project staff, and the sharing of logos and advertising. Any one of these items, which represent reward and control factors, could have been a major stumbling block without the presidents' support (Neal, 1988).

Several authors have noted the problems of time allocation (Munn & Morrison, 1984; Naidu, 1987; LeSage, 1988). Not only do participants need sufficient time in which to do their writing, they need congruent time in which to meet together, consecutive time in which to read each other's work, and time to work with audiovisual or graphics staff as production deadlines approach. It is positively amazing how many delays and changes can occur. For example, audiovisual staff may be only available during certain hours, faculty receive short notice regarding impending sabbaticals, and faculty are not able to do course writing during exam periods on campus. In addition, if one member of a team is on sabbatical and one is having to go on overload to find time to write, they have great difficulties identifying synchronous time. Because no faculty member had previous experience with course writing, they tended to underestimate the time needed to accomplish the tasks they set for themselves, let alone the "turn-around" time required to exchange each other's work or get word-processing and editing done. Other authors have commented that time problems have led to one member taking over and doing the work, thus reducing the collaborative aspect (Naidu, 1987). Factors such as respect for colleagues and support for team work become submerged. If the collaboration is short in duration, the end may justify the means; however, if it is long-term, the resumption of team effort will be difficult to reinstate.

The role of the student influences the joint project, even though it is often unacknowledged. For one thing, the program has to be developed such that it is accessible to a target population and will attract applications. Faculty who teach on one campus only may not be aware of the attention the institution pays to high enrolment numbers or adverse student evaluations. It is only after faculty get deeply into collaboration that they realize they have three agendas to reconcile: those of the funding agency, their own academic institution and department, and the students they hope will complete the program of study.

Naidu (1988) recommends the use of Hall's (1979) concerns-based approach to facilitating change as a basis for consideration during the establishment of a collaboration. In addition, the careful lists of Crick (1980) and LeSage (1988) are very helpful. Anyone contemplating the commencement of a collaborative relationship between enducational institutions would do well to bring these elements to the attention of potential participants. It is obvious that items listed on a meeting agenda are only a few of the factors that will impact inevitably on the proposed relationship.

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DETERRENTS TO PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION: A COLLEGE PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT. Although much is known about those who participate in adult education, little is understood about the factors preventing the involvement of non-participants. This paper reports on a research project replicating a 1985 study by Darkenwald and Valentine, with a focus on a population in North-western Alberta. The results are isomorphic with the original study, and indicate some of the issues requiring further exploration at the local level.

RESUME. Même si on sait beaucoup au sujet des adultes participant aux programmes d'éducation permanente, on comprend toujours peu les raisons qui empêchent les non-participants de s'impliquer. Cette exposé présente l'étude de Darkenwald et Valentine (1985) en focalisant sur la population du nord-ouest de l'Alberta. Les résultats sont comparables à ceux de l'étude initiale et indiquent certaines conclusions qui nécessitent une recherche ultérieure au niveau local.

During the 1960s, a rapid expansion of post-secondary education facilities occurred in the province of Alberta. In many instances the mandate of the newly created junior (now community) college was to serve the educational needs of adults within a certain geographic area. Specific attention was given to the needs of educationally disadvantaged adults, who were often characterized as having dropped out of formal schooling prior to completion of high school and/or to be in need of additional training in order to be competitive in the work force.

Barriers exist that to varying degrees deter adults from participation in these educational opportunities. Examples of institutional or physical barriers would include the policies and procedures concerning admission, registration, location, and scheduling of classes. Most of the research to date has concentrated on these areas, and the impact they have had on the participant.

Another view seeks to understand this issue from the perspective of the non-participant. This Research Project - a replication of a previous study by Darkenwald and Valentine (1985), coupled with a series of Case Study interviews of non-participants - sought to investigate the phenomenon of non-participation in adult education in the Grande Prairie area and further, to investigate the extent to which Grande Prairie Regional College is or is not fulfilling its mandate toward the educationally disadvantaged adult population. Specifically, two research objectives were established: (1) to identify those factors perceived by the general adult population as deterrents to participation; and (2) to identify relationships which may exist between these deterrent factors and select sociodemographic variables. Comparatively little has been done to directly study these prospective adult learners. This exploratory study attempts to assess the extent to which the College could better respond to those currently not being reached.

Although the study of participation/non-participation trends applies to all adult learning environments, the focus of the present study concentrates on the community college in Alberta. In their comprehensive review of Canada's community college system, Dennison & Gallagher (1986) suggest this to be a priority, "to determine who might best benefit from the college experience but do not yet participate" (p. 269). They note that even with a greater diversification of programs, Canadian participation rates are not what one would expect, at least in comparison to trends in the United States.

A review of college development in Alberta suggests a vital role in the provision of learning opportunities at the post-secondary level. Indeed the collective mandate is to pay particular attention to the needs of adult learners (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980). The colleges have taken on a social as well as an educative role in that learning becomes a lifelong enterprise. The development of the non-university post-secondary system of education provides insight into the values of the people and the visions of the elected governments of the day. In the case of Alberta, through a combination of public pressure, foresight, action, and inaction a unique system of community colleges has evolved to serve the diverse needs of the people.

We have today in Alberta a sophisticated network of post-secondary institutions. In several instances, one institution will cater to a diversity of student needs - from being a transition for the recent high school graduate about to commence university degree courses or technical-vocational training, to the re-entry point for the adult learner who is returning to school after many years absence. As increasing numbers of adults seek further educational opportunities, institutions are being strained to respond in appropriate ways.

PARTICIPATION THEORY IN ADULT EDUCATION

It should not be surprising that the literature on participation theory in adult education is both diverse and inconclusive. Most studies to date have focused on that segment of the population that does participate (see Cross, 1981). Depending on one's definition of adult education this could account for 90% of the population if self-directed learning activities are to be included. A more conservative estimate of participation would suggest one in nine (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982) or "one in every five" (Devereaux, 1985). Thus, to discuss the non-participant requires a focus on the majority of the population - the 80% not directly involved in adult learning activities.

Recent studies of participation behaviour have focused on factors which effectively deter participation and are most often referred to in the literature as barriers or deterrents. The predominant emphasis has been on situational and institutional barriers - the kind of things that are usually easiest to rectify and in most cases are "discovered" out of attempts to improve sagging enrolments and to recruit or retain more students in traditional institutional programs.

Cross (1981) has summarized the literature on motivations to learning, citing three points of general consensus: (1) Houle's typology, neither proved nor disproved, remains a practical way of looking at an individual adult's motivations toward learning; (2) most adults give practical reasons for learning, being what Houle would term "goal-oriented learners"; and (3) the surveys tend to confirm that most people seek to "improve (their) position in life". However, just what it is that will improve tends to vary according to a number of other variables, such as age, sex, occupation, and life stage. Noting "it is usually the people who *need* education the most - the poorly educated - who fail to participate" (p. 97), Cross (1981) was the first to elaborate on the idea of *barriers* in the study of participation in adult education and identified three major categories: (1) Situational; (2) Institutional; and (3) Dispositional.

The result of her synthesis is the Chain-of-Response Model, which suggests participation is not a single act but rather a result of a series (chain) of responses as perceived by the individual. The impact of the model is in the focus on *Opportunities* and *Barriers*. For the weakly motivated, participation in adult education is unlikely to occur. Thus, merely removing barriers will not necessarily be sufficient to raise the level of motivation which is seen to be derived from other factors, although attention to the identification of opportunities will help. Expressing skepticism concerning the assumption "that most people are motivated to participate in education and that the removal of external barriers will permit them to do so" (p.119), Cross concludes that, with respect to the *internal* psychological variables, "if adult educators wish to understand why some adults fail to participate in learning opportunities, they need to begin at the beginning of the COR model -with an understanding of attitudes toward self and education" (p. 130).

Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) propose a Psychosocial Interaction Model which suggests that participation results from a continuum of responses to internal and external stimuli. Further extending the Cross (1981) model, four categories of barriers are identified: Situational, Institutional, Informational, and Psychosocial. This approach reinforces several notions common to the study of nonparticipation - the importance of the perception of the learner, multi-dimensionality, the magnitude of the contributing forces, and the positive or negative valance of the factor under consideration. The link between one's adult socioeconomic status and subsequent participation in learning activities, with the Pre-Adulthood influences that create one's Adult Socioeconomic Status demonstrates that the potential to influence future participation in lifelong learning as an adult may in part be due to those events which occur in the pre-adult stages of psychosocial development.

Peinovich (1986) offers a psychosocial perspective to research on adult education and participation. In a manner similar to Darkenwald and Merriam, Peinovich (1986) states that the barriers to participation are most often hidden barriers in that "they do not exist in individuals or in specific activities at institutions, but are imbedded in the practices and processes of institutions in ways that are too subtle to change with a changing schedule of courses or streamlined admission procedures" (p. 16). After reviewing the major theoretical models of participation, she further states that "what has been generated in the research to date are a number of perfectly adequate, interchangeable theories. They explain non-participation among the participants, but fail to explain non-participation among the non-participants" (Peinovich, 1986, p. 12).

This argument presents a challenging perspective. There is strong advocacy to emphasize the non-participant perspective in the context of identifying and removing the hidden barriers to adult education. These barriers are largely defined in terms of social class structures rather than as individualistic variables. In many respects, the similarities may exceed the differences, and this focus corresponds to the developmental structure of the Adult Socioeconomic Status component of the Chain-of-Response Model put forward by Cross (1981), as well as the inclusion of a Pre-Adulthood component to the Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) Psychosocial Model.

In essence we know who participates in adult and continuing education; certainly this is true for those involved in formal institutional settings. We can and have surveyed, interviewed, and classified these learners, and few generalizations can be made without reference to specific populations and environments. But less well known and understood is the profile of the non-participant. There does, however, seem to be general agreement on three major issues: (1) the interaction of individually and environmentally determined variables; (2) these variables may interact either to enhance or inhibit the likelihood of participation; and (3) the deterrents themselves are likely less important than how they are perceived by the individual.

METHODOLOGY

The Generic form of the Deterrents to Participation Scale (Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985) was mailed to a random sample of 592 adults; 122 or 20.8% usable responses were obtained. To facilitate comparison with the Darkenwald and Valentine (1985) study, principle component analysis was employed resulting in the identification of 10 factors with an eigenvalue of 1.0 or greater, which met the criterion for retention. In order to arrive at a more parsimonious solution, factor solutions representing 4, 5, and 6 components were computed using the Varimax procedure, with rotation. The best simple structure was that represented by the 6 factor solution, accounting for 55.7% of the scale variance. Using just those variable loadings of 0.45 or greater, only two items failed to load on any one factor: Item 15 ("Because my family did not encourage participation", mean importance score = 1.41, scale rank = 29), and Item 25 ("Because the course was offered in an unsafe area", mean importance score = 1.19, scale rank = 33.5). The final solution represents a factorial complexity of zero, that is none of the items load significantly on more than one factor. The overall mean importance score for all 34 items is 1.78 on a 5-point scale (range 1.19 - 2.91), representing a descriptor equivalent to "slightly important". The factor scores were also analyzed in relation to six sociodemographic variables included in the survey instrument: sex, age, highest educational credential, annual family income, employment status, and community of residence.

Using the rotated factor pattern matrix, factor scores were computed for each case. These factor scores were subsequently used in correlational analyses to explore the relationships between respondent sociodemographic characteristics and the factors identified as deterring participation in adult education.

For the Case Studies, a small sample (n = 4) drawn from a population of known non-participants agreed to an interview of approximately 45 minutes duration. The tape transcripts were analyzed for themes and perspectives with respect to the deterrents to participation concept.

DISCUSSION of RESULTS

The results were isomorphic with those found by the original study (Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985), that is a six factor solution:

(1) Lack of Confidence ("... I was not confident of my learning ability ... I felt I couldn't compete with younger students");

(2) Perceived Lack of Course Relevance ("... the courses available were of poor quality ... the available courses did not seem useful or practical");

(3) Cost ("... I couldn't afford the registration or course fee ... [or] miscellaneous expenses like travel, books, etc.");

(4) Time Constraints ("... I didn't have time for the studying required");

(5) Personal Problems ("... transportation problems ... family problems ... personal health problem or handicap"); and

(6) Low Personal Priority ("... I'm not that interested in taking courses"). The major difference between the two studies was the notion of *perception* noted in the current findings with respect to Lack of Course Relevance.

Significant correlations also exist between certain sociodemographic variables and the deterrent Factors: Lack of Confidence deterred those with low educational backgrounds; Course Relevance deterred males; Cost deterred younger adults; Time deterred younger adults, the more educated, and those earning higher incomes; Personal problems deterred older adults, those on low incomes, and those living furthest from Grande Prairie; while Low Personal Priority showed no significant relationships with any variable.

The data from the Case Studies was intended to personalize the general findings of this research study; however, certain limitations prevent an extensive interpretation. The interviews appear to suffer from what can only be described as being identified too closely with one educational institution. This situation can be attributed to the public knowledge that the researcher was affiliated with the local college, and attempts to keep the exploration of deterrent factors general was not entirely successful. (To a lessor degree this limitation may also have been a factor in responses received to the mailed questionnaire).

The application of the findings present some interesting challenges insofar as local programming is concerned. One of the more significant issues resulting from a review of the subjects' responses was the Lack of Confidence Factor associated closely with a low educational background. This is consistent with the literature on participation. Clearly the seeds of low educational attainment are sown in the primary and secondary years, and without attempting to fix blame or find fault, it seems likely that part of the solution lies with making the pre-college years of schooling more appealing. This suggests that all levels of the educational system need to coordinate efforts in the search for solutions.

The other highly salient feature descriptive of this survey population clearly suggests that a real deterrent exists for those living outside the immediate vicinity of the college. Also in question is the perception of just what adult education is meant to be. Most people still apparently focus on the formal, institutionalized adult learning environments when asked to consider their own learning needs.

Proximity to opportunity has a positive relationship to participation. This suggests some modifications are due insofar as recruitment and programming are concerned. Regional centres, for example, might be established in smaller outlying communities in the area served by this "Regional" College. This needs to be balanced against the benefits reaped from a centralization of programs and services.

Although the sample population was requested to consider any recent learning activity and not just courses in the traditional definition of the term, it would appear the majority of respondents indeed connect learning opportunities to the one institution in the area. Distance education and correspondence study, for example, do not seem to be making a large impact. This is not suggested in such a way as to exaggerate the importance of the College; rather it serves to hi-lite the challenge faced by all groups involved with the planning and delivery of adult education. The erroneous temptation is to conclude that, being "the only game in town", little effort is needed to maintain a competitive position.

Of interest too is the non-significance accorded the Low Personal Priority factor with any of the sociodemographic variables. This factor was characterized by the response "Because I'm not that interested in taking courses"; however, it is not clear how individual respondents interpreted the questionnaire with respect to involvement in learning activities.

One last observation relates to the two variables which failed to load on any factor - "Because my family did not encourage participation" and "Because the course was offered in an unsafe area". Both these variables were ranked low in priority on the 34-item questionnaire, a finding comparable to the original Darkenwald and Valentine study. A further comparison can be made between the three Darkenwald and Valentine study variables which did not load, against how these same three items were treated in the present study. Two of the three non-loading Darkenwald & Valentine variables showed weak loadings in the present study, whereas the third variable ("Because of transportation problems") loaded at 0.78 for the present study. Clearly, transportation is a major issue for a rural northern Alberta population but not so much so for those residing in Somerset County, New Jersey.

CONCLUSIONS

This study examines the issue of non-participation in adult education for a population in a particular geographic region. A greater understanding of the issues was sought, toward the goal of finding ways to improve access to learning for adults. A start has been made, with the imperative noted that the problem must be *understood* before attempts at solutions can be undertaken.

The college system has been created, in part, to serve a salvage function, to offer adults that second chance. However, as the results of this study have shown, those with low levels of educational success are likely less confident about their abilities and hence less likely to attempt further study. Thus the challenge for the colleges and other re-entry post-secondary institutions is to market themselves in such a way that the caring, genuine desire to provide for a safe, welcome environment for that second opportunity is *evident to the prospective learner*.

An investigation of access to opportunity, interpreted through the filter of the mandate held by the college system in Alberta, underscores some of the problems in this area. Although deterrents are seen to exist, it should be kept in mind that most were viewed as mildly important reasons not to participate. This lends support for an approach to this issue that gives greater attention to the sociopsychological position of the non-participant in addition to analysis of institutional mandates, policies, and procedures.

Replication studies of this kind also serve to validate an instrument such as the Deterrents to Participation Scale and indicate the common features of non-participatory behaviour in further learning. The local conditions place a different emphasis on individual variables, and the sociodemographic correlations with the Factor solution suggest alternative patterns. Nevertheless, the Six-Factor structure identified as the best final solution for the present research population is consistent with the Darkenwald and Valentine (1985) results, adding support to the theoretical models of non-participation found in the literature.

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From the Inside Looking Out: A Twenty Year Perspective on the St. F.X. Program

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Abstract: The study summarizes and comments on statistics and data for the past 20 years. The main emphasis is on the graduates of the program. Findings are discussed in terms of professional development and the contribution of the program to adult education in Canada.

Resume: Cette étude represente la synthèse des statistiques et les données ainsi que les commentaires pertinents portant sur les vingt (20) dernières annees. Les finissants du programme font l'objet principal de cette étude. La discussion des resultats se fait à la lumière du développement professionnel et de la contribution à l'andragogie au Canada.

"You're not getting older; you're getting better" was a birthday message I received last year. Although not profound, it caused me to stop, reflect, and ask myself some serious questions: Was this true? How had I changed? Was I now a better person than I was before? In addition, I searched for the logic or the lack of it in how I had developed over the years. This reflective exercise provided me with a vehicle for seeing my life experience in a fresh way.

This year St. Francis Xavier's Department of Adult Education was having its 20th anniversary. The staff agreed that this was a good time to step back and analyze what we had done over this span of time and to ask some serious questions like: How had we contributed to the professional development of those who had come to us for graduate studies? How had we contributed to the field of adult education in Canada? The process proposed to answer these questions had many similarities with the one I had engaged in after my last birthday. A similar outcome was expected, too. As we stepped back and analyzed our practice, we expected to gain a new perspective. In our view it was incumbent upon the Department as we entered our third decade to give serious consideration to questions and issues arising in the Department, to those arising in the field of adult education, and to the new directions in which the profession might seek to serve itself and its colleagues in the professional world. To do this effectively a fresh way of looking at what we have been doing was needed. I decided to take on this task.

There were several possible approaches to data selection that I could take while doing a critical analysis of our practice over the last 20 years. The one I chose was to examine the theses of those who completed the program. The rationale for this choice was made on the assumption that by examining the theses I could determine whether appropriate learning programs were being realized on the basis of the following criteria:

1. That the learning program displays **breadth** of understanding of an area within the field of adult education (for example, adult literacy);

2. That the learning program displays **depth** of study of one major aspect of a selected area in the field of adult education (for example, program evaluation which is a major aspect in the area of adult literacy).

The thesis, as described in our academic calendar, is "a Report of Learning (thesis) which demonstrates that the objectives of the program have been achieved."

Description of the Program As It Presently Exists

The St. Francis Xavier University Department of Adult Education began offering a Masters Degree Program in 1970. During the 20 years of its existence it has evolved from a rather traditional curriculum consisting of ten courses to one that is experiential, individualized and personalized. After 1974, courses were not offered rather personalized learning objectives were approved for each student.

The program is a self-directed learning experience wherein students are expected to design, implement, and evaluate their own content curriculum . Although the program does not have courses in the traditional sense of university study, it has three phases: program design, program implementation, and program evaluation, including thesis; these can be translated into courses and credits. The program is a professional development one; therefore, in order to be admitted, applicants are required to have at least two years' experience in individual, community, or group learning projects -- for example, literacy, adult basic education, human resources training, community development, health promotion.

Once accepted, students begin the program at any one of three entry times each year. The program begins with a three-week residential orientation period on campus. These orientation groups are limited to 12 students. The orientation is a time when the mutual expectations of the Department and of the students are clarified, and when students begin to prepare a plan of learning (their curriculum) for tentative approval by departmental faculty. Final approval is given at the end of the first phase. It is during this process of preparing the learning plan that students are faced most generally with the greatest number of challenges of a self-directed learning experience.

Our operational philosophy, as presently defined, is that self-direction is a mode of learning which encourages growth and development, and is a way for people to direct their own lives from a proactive stance rather than a reactive one. The skills needed in self-directed learning enhance one's self-responsibility, autonomy, and accountability. These are the same attributes which a professional seeks to develop. Therefore, by striving to become a better self-directed learner, one can also become a more competent professional at the same time.

Some Statistical Analysis

To December, 1990, a total of 510 people have enrolled in our program. The breakdown of numbers -- graduate, withdrawn, current -- are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Department of Adult Education Student Body: 1970 - December, 1990

	Current	Withdrawn	Graduated	Total
Students	166	159	185	510

Note: After subtracting the current students, the number of graduates exceeds the number of withdrawals by 54% to 46%.

The male-female ratio of graduates is another interesting analysis. Of the total 185 graduates, 97 are female and 88 are male. A more interesting feature is revealed when the ratio is broken down into time periods, 1970-1973, 1974-1981, 1981-1985 and 1986-1990. (see Table 2). The number of females completing the program has increased sharply over the years. The most notable increase has occurred in the last 5 years.

Table 2

Male - Female Ratios During Program

Time Period	Male		Female		Total	
	(No.)	(%)	(No.)	(%)	(No.)	(%)
1970-1973	9 -	65%	5 -	35%	14	100%
1974-1981	29 -	62%	18 -	38%	47	100%
1981-1985	20 -	56%	16 -	44%	36	100%
1986-1990	31 -	36%	57 -	64%	88	100%

Thesis Analysis

There are many ways of looking at our theses but the one which seemed to be most congruent with who we are and what we do, at least in my view, is the construct of area and aspect. This is consistent with the two criteria delineated earlier. Area refers to the way the field is divided, for example: extension education, popular education, counselling, literacy, ESL, ABE, health education. There probably is an overlap among some areas but for the purpose of this paper, an area is defined as one portion of the field of adult education.

Aspect refers to one dimension of the program planning process, namely, needs assessment, program design, implementation/facilitation, and evaluation. These various dimensions are all part of the broad term program development. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) explain "the program development process involves assessing learner needs, setting objectives, selecting learning activities and resources for learning, making and executing decisions necessary for learning activities to take place, and evaluating outcome" (p.16). While students are encouraged to view program planning holistically, they are expected to focus their skill development by using a practical educational project and by emphasizing a particular aspect -- for example, becoming a better evaluator.

The theses have been grouped into three time periods for analysis. The basis for this grouping is that changes in department personnel have resulted in refinement of philosophical approach for each of these time periods.

1970-1973. Of the 14 theses written during this period, 4 were excluded because they did not fit the area/aspect construct. Of the remaining 10, the areas explored were: human resource development (3), community development (3), co-operative education (1), literacy (1), native education (1). The aspects were: program design (6) and evaluation (4).

1974-1981. Of the 47 theses produced during this period 2 were excluded. The rest divided into 13 areas: human resources development (16), community development (7), adult basic education (ABE)(5), health education (4), two each for communications, counselling, and literacy, and one each for community college and native education. The aspects were: program design (29), evaluation (7), implementation (5), and needs assessment (4).

1981-1990. During this 10 year period 124 theses were written. These divide into 24 different areas as follows: human resources development (27), nursing education (13), community college (12), community development (10), and health education (10), native education (9), higher education (6), English as a Second Language (ESL) (5) and women's education (5), computer education (3), co-operative education (3) and counselling education (3). The other areas with either 2 or 1 were: vocational education, ABE, distance education, literacy, adult religious education, social services, popular education, environmental education, agricultural extension, nutritional education, and museum education. The aspects were: program design (46), implementation (34), evaluation (27), needs assessment (18).

Observations

Observations are dealt with under two headings: (a) the professional development of adult educators and how it has shifted and changed over the years, and (b) the contribution of the St. F.X. program to the development of adult education in Canada.

The Shift and Change Over the Years

The most obvious shift is the gender ratio. The number of women entering our program has increased significantly. This trend is in keeping with fact that women constitute the fastest-growing segment of the life-long learning movement. As Cross (1981) points out, "women's part-time adult learning activities have increased almost four times as fast as their numbers in the population" (p.24). This shift which began in the late 1960s, began to be felt at the graduate level during the 1980s. As women completed their undergraduate degrees many began seeking advanced credentials.

Another shift has been to specialization. During the first 10 years of the St. F.X. program, (1970-1980) the main emphasis was on program design. In reading the theses of this period what most student were attempting to become was a generalist in adult education. What we see now is an attempt to become more specialized. Although we expect students to focus on a specialization as pointed out in the criteria stated earlier, this shift in emphasis is congruent with what is happening in the professions generally. As Boone, Shearon, White, and Associates (1980) tell us.

> There is no longer a clear straight line in any element of professional life. The expanding body of knowledge has forced the proliferation of specialization and subspecialization; one needs to remain enough of a generalist to understand the overall picture and yet also needs to know the chosen specialty well enough to make competent decisions in it. (p.63).

It seems that it is no longer wise or feasible to try to be a generalist. The trend now is to become better facilitators, better evaluators, or to become more skilled at needs assessment. It could be that so many programs are already designed and prepackaged, that the design focus is no longer as important as it was before. Another possible factor is the influence of government financial intervention on the job market. After the enthusiasm of the 1960s, much government support was provided for new programs and creative expansions. Now the government focus is on fiscal responsiblity and evaluation of benefits.

The proliferation of areas under the broad umbrella of adult education is another interesting observation. For example, twenty years ago nurses who taught student nurses called themselves trainers; now they call themselves nurse educators. Continuing education programs for nurses have multiplied. This is due, in part, to the threat of obsolescence resulting from the rapid changes in our society over the past decade. Knowles and Associates (1984) emphasize that "the half-life of the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values required by physicians, nurses, allied health professionals, and pharmacists is shrinking with increasing speed". (p.297). The same is true in other professions. The field of adult education is a bewildering mosaic these days because it includes so many different areas.

Another observation I have made is the shift in areas of interest. During the first 10 years of our program there was great interest in human resource development, community development and adult basic education. In the last 10 years the areas of nursing education, community college, and health education have increased in importance. This can probably be explained by the increase in female students since these areas very often are seen as women's career interests. Of the 24 areas written about in theses during the 1981-1990 period many reflect women's interests. In addition to the three already mentioned there is ESL, women's education, literacy, social services, and nutritional education. Although there is only one thesis written so far on nutritional education, I anticipate many more in the future. The fastest growing group entering our program now is nutritionists.

As a corollary to this observation it is appropriate to suggest that women's ways of knowing are being brought to bear on the field of adult education. The far-reaching implications of the inclusion of women's voices for the profession, although beyond the scope of this paper, is an issue that requires further study.

St. F.X.'s Contribution to Development of Adult Education in Canada

The number of graduates speaks volumes about our contribution to the field in Canada. Twenty years ago, higher credentials were considered important for adult educators and this was one of the reasons why the program was started. Today, 185 adult educators are graduates of our program. Not only did the university provide an opportunity for them to obtain an advanced degree, but the mode of delivery by distance was another reason why the program became more accessible to those who could not take time away from family and work responsibilities to pursue graduate work on a full-time or residential basis.

Our theses have contributed to the body of knowledge in the field of adult education. In emphasizing practical outcomes and products our theses provide interesting examples of how theory relates to practice.

Implications for Practice

The results of this study have provided more questions than answers. For example: The theses provide evidence that our degree program has stimulated a variety of novel ideas, but has it led to behavioral change? Are our graduates able to apply the newly acquired skills within their work settings? These two questions suggest some post-graduate follow-up.

Another area of immediate interest is that of specialization. Should we sort students into different grouping at the orientation phase -- for example, a nursing group, and a community development group? Presently we are exploring the possibility of a community development specialization in conjunction with the Coady International Institute. There are more questions too numerous to mention here.

I want to say in conclusion that a university-based professional development program like the one we offer provides fertile ground for continued skill development. "Professional development can be accomplished most effectively using a system that includes instruction, practice, feedback, support and in vivo application" (Parsons & Meyers, 1987, p.230). Our program seems to fit this bill. Our present weakness is in feedback and support. Action steps to remedy this situation will be our challenge over the next five years.

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REFLECTIONS ON DEVELOPMENT: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Abstract:
This symposia contains : 1) a critical literature review, 2) a discussion of Indigenous Science as cultural reorientation and Decolonization practice and a case study of Native Economic Development.

Part I: Elayne Harris, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Critical Reflections

The world today is marked by major ideological, economic, sociological, and political shifts which are in turn reflected in the changing discourses among adult educators. One of the implications of these shifts is that the community development concept *as a learning process* is currently in eclipse.

This eclipse has been occasioned by two factors in the field of adult education. One is that adult education as a field did not embrace community development fully, with some elements of adult education being distinctly uncomfortable with its radical intentions, its focus on the collective and its penchant for valuing the experiential over the reflective (Pyrch, 1983). The present emphasis on a market-driven professional practice of adult education has also contributed to a diminished concern for the role of community development (Selman, 1985; Taylor, Rockhill, and Fieldhouse, 1985; and Mezirow; 1989). Possibly for these reasons, many scholars of adult education turned their talents to inquiry about individual learning with the result that our theoretical understandings of community development as a learning process are largely inferential at best and at worst, simply non-existent.

The second set of factors impinging on the community development concept today has been the recasting of its agenda and process by language which better fits the post modernist, post structuralist intellectual era. Hence the currency of social change as the pressing adult education agenda for those whose vision is one of collectivity, with its de-localized, more global reach and participatory research as the most compatible knowledge technology or process to advance that agenda. Together, these are to be welcomed since it provides intellectual fuel to those who subscribe to community development as a process or movement, but who find community development defined as product or method to be anaemic. It is particularly on these later grounds that educators with a transformational ideology which targets existing social relations have parted company with the community development concept.

With better articulation of critical educational theory, radical educators whose practice is tied to specific geographic localities struggle to review the community development concept for insights on present day realities in these units. Since an issue for most small communities in this time of urbanization and centralization is any kind of survival, these concerns often translate to the variety of educational functions that support economic self-reliance.

Many with a vision of adult education as a strategy for social change either at the level of community, country, or society have established linkages. Among them are Freire (1973), Roberts (1979), Brookfield (1985) and Lovett (1983). Most of the foregoing are intellectually tied to a progressive tradition of adult learning. However, a review of how the aforementioned authors link community development and learning reveals marked differences.

Roberts (1979) highlights learning as the key connection between community development and action. In his community development model, learning occurs at two points. The first opportunity for learning is related to knowledge of self, group and others; skills in communication and group discussion; and attitudes toward self, others and things. The second opportunity centres on learning skills in organization, planning and administration. The learning itself is always an individual act, but takes place in the context of a group.

Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983) take another tack. They present four possible models of learning in community development which "reflect not only different educational pedagogies but different views of the world and the role of education in the process of social and political change" (Lovett et al., 1983, p.36). The most distinct of the four is characterized by "hard educational effort; on social, rather than community, action, on 'working class' rather than 'community' education. It is suspicious of the view that community action is, in itself, a learning process" (p.40). It embraces radial social action on actual community problems but in context of the larger social, economic and political picture.

Compared to the contrasting views presented above, Brookfield (1983) offers a schematic overview of the entire range of possibilities of community as adult education. His schema offers distinctions among adult education *for* the community, *in* the community and *of* the community. It is the latter which is generally most allied to community development. Examples include the Antigonish movement, Highlander Folk School, and the Liverpool Educational Priority area project.

Freire's (1973) practice gave rise to a particular form of learning and social change, generally labelled as *conscientization*, in which peasants simultaneous acquire the practical skill of literacy and socio-political analysis. Community developers appropriated Freire's work and philosophy as a better articulation of their framework of skill, action, transformation, learning, social change and people-centredness than had been available before. Freire has been joined by others in fuelling a "countercritique" (Beder, 1989) of the deleterious effects of capitalistic-based education on society in general, but Freire's thought has special relevance for community development and adult learning because it is particularly situated in his work with adults.

Common threads between the these illustrations include a shared goal of social change; origination in deprived geographic areas; engagement with causes of popular and/or disenfranchised groups; and flexibility in using combinations of learning and action to change local oppressive conditions. Still, the search for models of transformative learning is maddeningly illusive if done in the community development literature since there appears to be little consensus about social and collective learning.

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Part II: Bryan M. Loucks, Department of Adult Education, Ontario Institute For Studies in Education.

Indigenous Science: Cultural Reorientation and Decolonization

> *I was out on a high hill and it is the third night of a four day fast when it happened. Up until that time the fast was uneventful, with warm days, cool nights and the occasional chipmunk and his relatives chattering to me and one another. The birds sang.*
>
> *My friend, the man who had taken me up the hill, had told me there might be a "visitor". The possibility crossed my mind as I gazed into the sky during the day and into the flames of my fire at night.*
>
> *When the visitor came. I was not prepared.... I was scared breathless and could feel my heart beat all over!*

Fasting on that hill almost 20 years ago was one of the first formal steps that I took as a way of experiencing Indigenous ways of knowing and being in this post modern world. For me, it has been a journey filled with surprise, doubt, confusion, pain and joy. It has been a journey not unlike many others journeys taken by aboriginal people over the last decades, as we have engaged in re-visioning who we think we are, where we have been and where we are going.

Indigenous Knowledge.

Before the newcomers came to the Americas, Aboriginal peoples had systems of knowledge which defined and informed our ways of knowing and being in the world. Commerce and state interests have combined to create and maintain a system of 'welfare colonialism' in Canada. In this process, traditional systems of knowledge have been generally criminalized, delegitimized or ignored by the larger society. Within many native societies knowledge has become fragmented, diffused, buried and forgotten.

Many aboriginal peoples, at this time in history are engaging in a process of cultural reorientation and re-creation. One of the major aspects of this reorientation is a process of learning and healing[1] informed and guided by indigenous knowledge and sciences[1]. The movement reaffirms the value of indigenous knowledge and socio/cultural forms while offering alternatives to subjugation and disconnection. Our teachings are being picked up once again.

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[1] The term 'healing' is being used as an inclusive term which relates to harmonization of mind, body and spirit as well as moving toward completion of relationships with the natural, social and spiritual world. All human beings are in need of healing with the goal for the Anishnawbe being "Bimadzawin" or the full, complete, moral life.

Inhibition

Little is known from the standpoint of scholarly research about the processes of indigenous science as currently practiced within native communities. Taboo, subjugation and repression have inhibited the communication and discussion of such matters or it has been part of oral forms of communication outside of the realm of written text and interpretation.

Other inhibiting conditions restricting access to indigenous science is the academic enquiry process itself. Western forms of pedagogy, theory and social regulation dominate the knowledge production process. A western reductionistic approach to enquiry often filters out culturally significant understanding and perceptions in the name of objectivity, validity and context and problem definition.

Finding a Space

It is my contention, the strengthening of the processes and practices of indigenous science is essential to the cultural reorientation movement and the decolonization of aboriginal peoples/subjectivity.

To accomplish this end it is essential for aboriginal people to begin articulating, exploring and using epistemologies and protocols based upon indigenous science as a way of preventing further penetration of western science into indigenous knowledge systems and to further the restoration of integrity to the practice of indigenous science. Pam Colorado (1988, p. 61) in addition to the above rationale suggests the study of indigenous science will further a completion of native/non-native relationships as well as shed light on issues related to sustainable human-earth relationships.

It is through the instructions and methods which are embedded in the oral teaching and stories that aboriginal people are moving toward greater connection to the practices of indigenous science. This reorientation process is being lived within a particular time and space and as such suggests a transformative process which includes processes of decolonization as well as reconnection with and construction of indigenous ways of being and knowing.

Decolonization is related to the processes by which western forms of knowledge and subjugation are critically reflected upon in the light of experience and indigenous knowledge. Reconnection and reconstruction relates to the production of perspectives and understanding occurring at the level of subjectivity as contextualized and guided by Indigenous scientific practice. In most cases these two processes are inseparable.

Indigenous science provides a context where these processes and transformations can be explored and experienced in an atmosphere of reflection and respect.

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[1] The term, 'science' best represents the notion of systematic and formulated knowledge which informs Indigenous ways of knowing and being.

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Part III: Gail Winter, Graduate Student, Department of Adult Education, O.I.S.E.

Kingfisher Lake: A Model of Native Community Development

> *You've got to be an independent human being. You shouldn't be selfish. You have a responsibility as a human being to take care of your children. Think of the future. You have a responsibility to think of the future of your children, to use your abilities (Sainnawap, Winter, & Eprile, 1987, p. 3).*

These are the words of the elders of Kingfisher Lake, a Native community in Northwestern Ontario, upon which a model of community development was founded.

After Kingfisher Lake acquired reserve status in 1976 the people began to discuss ways in which they could develop sustainable alternatives to traditional pursuits and regain their self-determination. They realized that they needed their own economic base and appropriate organization if they were to plan and implement their own development programs. After finding out that the local Bay store was taking 82% of their incoming monies out of Kingfisher Lake they formed the Kingfisher Lake SED Corporation in 1979 to buy out the store and initiate other developments.

The Bay was unwilling to sell so the community applied pressure by setting up a band-operated store, to which the community promised allegiance, and by threatening to stop working at the Bay store. These initiatives created a situation in which the Bay was willing to sell. Kingfisher Lake's store differed from those in other Native communities in two important ways: it eliminated its competition for incoming monies and it was administratively independent of the band office (they had observed that other communities' attempts to establish capital bases through band-owned and band-operated stores usually ended in bankruptcy).

The SED Corporation's business has increased from approximately $450,000 in its first year of operation to more than $1.6 million a year. In addition, about 30 permanent jobs as well as numerous contract jobs have been created for community members. Corporation profits have helped establish, among many other things, a laundromat, a new store building, community electricity, a new church, a recreational complex, and a business complex. Two percent of the corporation's gross income is put into a special social and religious account which is administered independently of the corporation.

The development model is based upon two principles: (a) incoming monies should be recirculated within the community for its benefit, and (b) developments should serve the people's daily needs. The model reflects the Native traditions and values of Kingfisher Lake in that: (a) the elder's advice is heeded, (b) leadership is by consensus (no project is implemented without informed community consensus), and (c) cooperation and sharing are intrinsic in the model. Furthermore, the model returns in part the people's traditional self-determination and self-governance. The people are resolved "to plan their future themselves, with as little outside help as possible" (Sainnawap et al, 1987, p. 30). During the early years of the corporation this resolution was strengthened when outside participation resulted in interference, delays, and misinformation. The president of the corporation, Noah Winter, says simply and succinctly that "in order to be self-sufficient, we have to depend on our own resources" (Smith, 1990). Bill Sainnawap states:

> our efforts have been fulfilling and meaningful activities, and have reinforced our identity, sense of worth, pride, dignity and confidence, and ultimately, our sense of direction and meaning in work and life...'Knowing where you come from, knowing who and where you are, and knowing where and how you want to go' is not an idea that was dreamed up overnight. It is an actual dilemma that we have been constantly struggling with in our efforts for community development, self-determination and self-government (Sainnawap et al, 1987, p. 2).

Kingfisher Lake's model is expanding regionally. Other communities are taking over existing stores rather than setting up stores which must then compete for incoming monies. In 1989 Kingfisher Lake and five other communities,(Wunnumin Lake, Big Trout Lake, Kasabonika, Wapekeka, and Webequie. Since then two more communities, Summer Beaver and Bearskin Lake, have joined the group.) gained 49% ownership of Kelner Airways and in 1990 gained 66.3% ownership of a petroleum products distribution company. Their long-term goal is to own and control the systems which meet their major needs (for example, the transportation, distribution, and service systems) and to recycle the profits back into the communities.

Kingfisher Lake's model has implications for the role of community developers and adult educators in Native community development. The principles of self-determination and leadership by consensus preclude the presence of an authoritative community developer. However, a supportive resource person in a consultative role might be viewed as desirable. Kingfisher Lake wishes to create a body of skilled workers (such as pilots, business administrators, etc.) so they can increase and expand their operations and staff them with Native workers over a period of time. Therefore adult educators who teach the required skills in a culturally sensitive manner are needed.

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CAREGIVER STRESS: A DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS.

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ABSTRACT

Family caregivers assume a major role in caring for ill members at home. This paper deals with the responses of 44 caregivers who were asked to recall experiences they found most stressful since assuming their caregiving functions. Data from 23 male and 21 female caregivers were qualitatively analysed. Gender differences and similarities were identified in the themes which emerged. Caregivers' adaptation is a developmental process.

RESUME

Lorsqu'un membre de la famille est atteint de maladie, c'est celle-ci qui en assume l'entière responsabilité à docimile. Dans cette étude, 44 sujets, 23 hommes et 21 femmes, ont fait part des expériences les plus stressantes vécues lorsqu'ils ont prodigué des soins à un membre malade de leur famille. Les données ont été analysées qualitativement. Les différences et les similitudes, selon le genre, ont été identifiées par thème. L'adaptation du membre de la famille dispensant les soins est un processus développemental.

Introduction

Little empirical investigation exists into gender differences of caregivers faced with the stress of caring for their homebound ill members. This may be due to the common assumption that women's primary orientations were to home and family. Today, several factors such as, increasing number of women in the workforce, improved medical technology which has extended people's lifespan, and a continuing rise in chronic illnesses, are causing a re-thinking of this position. Family caregivers continue to assume a major role in caring for ill members at home. In fact families, mostly the female members, provide approximately 70 to 80 per cent of the caring within the home (Day, 1985). When the ill individual has a diagnosis of cancer the demands of caregiving is a continuing source of stress for families (Hinds, 1985; Kristjanson, 1989). The purpose of this paper is to examine the responses made by 44 male and female family caregivers of persons with cancer at home when asked to identify the aspect of care that presented the greatest coping difficulty for them.

Relevant Literature

Gender and Caregiving

Considerable evidence exists that gender is often a significant characteristic of participants in a situation and a variable with predictable consequences (Lott, 1985). For example, Pearlin and Schooler (1978) found significant differences between men and women in the way they coped with role-related stress. Men employed both psychological resources (e.g., self-esteem, mastery, and lack of self-denigration), and adaptive coping responses, all of which worked to reduce stress. In contrast, the women in their study employed a more limited range of coping responses which primarily served to exacerbate stress.

Horowitz (1985) examined the role performance and consequence for sons and daughters as caregivers to older parents. They concluded that sons only took on the caregiver role in the absence of an available sister, and that they often turned to their spouses for the "hands-on" care needed. As well, that caregiving experiences are less stressful for sons when compared with daughter. A study by Mathew et al. (1990) explored the differences in men who cared for a demented relative at home as opposed to men who institutionalized a relative. They found that most men's actual involvemnent in caregiving activities was most likely to include performance of IADL (Instrumental Activities of Daily Living), such as banking, shopping etc.), for the relative as opposed to ADL (Activities of Daily Living), such as, bathing or hands on care). Almost all of the men in both groups spoke of a change in their lifestyle; for those still employed this affected their professional life as well.

Other studies, not focused on caregiving, have examined the influence of social environment and development as variables accounting for differences between male and female responses. These studies suggest that differences exist between male and female norms, values, expectancies and resulting needs (Belenky et al., 1986; Deaux, 1985; Lott, 1985; Gilligan, 1982; & Cross, 1981). According to Gilligan (1982) women develop a sense of self that is built on, and constructed around affiliations and relationships, while men develop a separateness, defining themselves in terms of their accomplishments. A number of other studies have stressed the Parsonian dichotomy between the instrumental (or task) oriented male, and the expressive (or social-emotional) female (for example, Parsons & Bales 1955; Balswick, 1988). This brief literature review provides a sampling of the views held with respect to gender differences and coping with caregiving.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were gathered in the homes of respondents using a semi-structured interview guide. The range of data collected pertained to the families' ability to care for the physical eeds of ill person, and families' social and emotional needs. Gender in this study denotes a socially derived distinction between people. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used to analyze the data.

Sample Characteristics

The sample consisted of 83 family caregivers drawn from a probability sampling of persons living at home with a diagnosis of cancer. There were 43 males and 40 females with mean ages 53 and 54 years respectively. Sixty-seven (81 per cent) were married, 41 (49 per cent) worked full-time, nineteen (23 per cent) were university graduates, 12 (15 per cent) had some university or college education, 27 (33 per cent) were high school graduates, and the remaining 25 (30 per cent) had some high school or less education.

Findings

For the purpose of this paper a qualitative descriptive analysis of responses made by 23 male and 21 female caregivers, 53 per cent of the sample, are presented. Caregivers reponded to an open-ended question which asked them to share the most difficult experiences they have had to cope with as caregivers. Themes representing diferences and similarities in the caregivers' responses are shown in figure 1. Given the specific purpose of this paper, only caregivers' differences will be expanded upon.

Female Caregivers

Unresponsiveness of the environment

Women shared experiences which suggested they felt a lack of responsiveness from their environment, both within the home and among health care personnel. They felt abandoned by health professional and left to fend on their own. Female caregivers' feelings were reflected in comments such as, "doctor hard to contact when needed", and "no cooperation from medical personnel". Clearly, there is room for improvement. The kinds of difficulties women experieneced within their immediate environment were lack of reciprocity and understanding from care-recipients. There was reference to care-recipient's "bull-headedness", or the fact that "you cannot tell him anything". A comment made by one of the women perhaps summed up the feelings of others. When asked to share the experience she found the most difficult to cope with, this individual replied "the whole damned thing".

Preserving Patients' Self-Esteem

Females felt that they were constantly monitoring their own behaviors in order not to offend the care-recipient's sensibilities. Women's efforts in this regard are evident in statements like, "I try not to let him feel he is pitied, or that "I feel sorry for him". In other instances, some women were careful not to be overprotective when patients tried to overextend themselves physically. Getting patients to establish this balance without undermining their self-esteem was perceived by women to be a very difficult aspect of their caregiving experience.

Lack of Time

Women found that having to juggle time to provide care for patients and the needs of other members of the family a very stressful experience to cope with. This is an interesting finding since it may reflect the widely held view within society that women engaged in caregiving activities are in their gender-appropriate role. Moreover, the job of caregiving is generally perceived as not being difficult, therefore, women's needs for assistance with this role are seldom considered. Such insensitivity can further heighten the level of stress women experience.

Male Caregivers

Three areas of differences were observed among male caregivers.

Communicating Diagnosis to Children

Men found that communicating news of the patient's illness to their children a most difficult aspect of their caregiver experience. It is conceivable that men's discomfort stem from the fact that they are rarely seen as key figures in caring for the family's health needs. This is not to infer that women would have no dificulty conveying to children similar information, but simply to make the point that men are infrequently associated with the illness care within the family. Carrying out an unaccustomed activity would therefore increase men's difficulty when the task becomes necessary.

Exclusion from Care-Recipient's World

Men in the study felt they were outsiders looking on, or trying to gain entry into the care-recipient's "private world". Males described the ill individual as being a very "private person", or they talked about patient's "concealing the scar" resulting from surgery from their view. Men also described the difficulty they experienced from the sense that they had no access to the patient's thoughts. This feeling is captured in one of the respondents' description, "I often wonder what she is thinking about, what is her mental anguish". These findings perhaps hint at unfulfilled expectations within the relationship.

Figure 1. Differences and Similarities in Coping Difficulties by Gender of Caregivers.

A. Differences

	Female	Male
1.	Unresponsiveness of environment	Communicating diagnosis to children
2.	Lack of time	Exclusion from care-recipient's world
3.	Preserving care-recipient's self-esteem	Altering career aspirations

B. Similarities

1. Fulfilling Regimen-related tasks for care-recipients
2. Disruption of family/social life
3. Anticipating the future without care-recipient
4. Changing care-recipient moods and depression

Altering Career Aspirations

Men shared that having to alter career goals was the most difficult experience they had to cope with since assuming their caregiving responsibilities. Males described their experience as "standing still" in their career, or having to "refuse job transfers". This sense of immobility resulting in career interruption was clearly an expression of the threat men perceived to their career goals. This finding could have far reaching adverse affects for the caregiving relationship.

Discussion

This study has attempted to identify gender differences in coping difficulties experienced by caregivers of chronically ill family members with a diagnosis of cancer. A qualitative descriptive account of the responses made by male and female caregivers revealed some interesting differences.

The finding that women perceived lack of time to be their most stressful caregiving experience is important. It not only gives visibility to the demanding work involved in caring for the chronically ill at home, but also the time commitment necessary for meeting other family responsibilities. This result lends support to the observation that the stress generated by women's prescribed family roles is marginalized or overlooked (Baruch, Biener & Barrett, 1987). Another explanation for the finding may be, that for this group of women, caring for a seriously ill family member conflicted with other personal aspirations. At middle age, which was the average age of the sample, these women may have just seen their last child leave home and with their newly found freedom may have initiated plans to fulfill long held dreams, such as, going back to school, work, or taking an extended holiday. Whatever their motivation, the time women devote to caregiving cannot be trivialized, and should recieve more recognition, particularly when the care includes a chronically ill family member at home.

Men's sense of exclusion from the care-recipient's world could stem from any number of factors within the social environment, some well beyond the scope of this paper. However, one important interpretation might be, that the finding relected a shift in the care-recipient's self-concept. A view that is commonly held about people who are diagnosed with cancer. One's self-concept provides a framework for the perception and organization of one's own life-experiences. It is also broadly and systematically used as an interpretive framework for comprehending the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of other people (Markus, Smith & Moreland, 1985). People diagnosed with cancer are perhaps more prone to this change in self-concept because despite the best prognostic outlook many negative images of this disease are still prevalent in the social environment. Since people's self-concept is used as an interpretive framework for making sense of their experiences, they will often use the cues they receive from the social context to determine their behaviors.

Role achievement in one's occupation is crucial in adult development. Men in this study perceived caregiving a threat to their career aspirations. A similar finding was reported by Mathew et al., (1990). The men in their study reported that caregiving affected their professional life. Clearly, career movement is central to men's development, and these findings suggest they react negatively when interruptions occur.

One thing that is clear from these findings, the caregiving process is complex, and the social environment plays a central role in the stress male and female caregivers experience.

Implications for Practice and Conclusions

These findings reinforce the importance of an adult developmental framework for understanding the multidimensional nature of stress associated with caregiving.. Illness is a developmental experience not only for the identified ill person, but also for family members, male and female, who provide their care. Caregiving occurs within a context that is dynamic and fraught with challenges to which caregivers must adapt. Successful adaptation by caregivers requires new learning, which is ongoing. Stresses experienced by male and female caregivers were both personal and interpersonal in nature. Among these stresses were, personal conflict, communication difficulties, insensitivity from the social environment, and interruption of career plans. Without intervention, these experiences could impede caregivers' ability to adapt both to current and continuously emerging challenges of caring for a chronically ill family member at home.

Adapting to the caregiving role for both men and women, requires several behavioral changes. People are threatened by change. However, when they understand the processes involved in change the more able they are to adapt to new transitions when these are encountered during their life course. Practitioners can intervene to assist caregivers in deriving meaning and growth from the many stressful experiences they encounter. In assisting caregivers through this developmental process, practitioners can also intervene to strengthen their problem-solving abilites, and improve interpersonal relationships. Family caregivers may also need to modify goals and cherished plans in order to adapt effectively to this transition. Practitioners can assist by broadening their perspective on alternative courses of action, by providing information, interpreting services, or referring to other resources when appropriate, in order to facilitate these changes. Assisting these caregivers through this developmental process requires practitioners who are sensitive, understanding and empathic. Practitioners in the field of adult education possess the knowledge and skill to guide the development of male and female caregivers through this transition.

In conclusion, these findings revealed interesting differences in the sources of stress experienced by male and female caregivers of chronically ill adults. Contextual factors were central to the stress caregivers experienced. Caregivers' adaptation is a developmental process which is ongoing. Practitioners can assist caregivers to grow and change.

Additional research needed to determine the relationship between context and optimal caregiver adaptation.

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MULTIPLE ROLE WOMEN STUDYING ADULT EDUCATION : LITERATURE REVIEW AND PRELIMINARY RESULTS

ETUDIANTES AVEC ROLES MULTIPLES EN ANDRAGOGIE : REVUE DE LA LITTERATURE ET DONNEES PRELIMINIARES

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ABSTRACT :

This bilingual presentation discusses work-in-progress regarding multiple role experiences and coping strategies of women studying adult education. The theoretical framework, methodology and relevance of this qualitative study are discussed along with some preliminary results.

Cette communication bilingue présente un projet de recherche qualitative portant sur les rôles multiples vécus par plusieurs étudiantes en andragogie. Après avoir discuté de la pertinence et du cadre théorique et méthodologique, nous présenterons quelques résultats préliminaires reliés au vécu de rôles multiples et aux stratégies utilisées par les femmes interrogées.

Étudiantes avec rôles multiples en andragogie: Revue de la littérature et données préliminaires.

A. Home et C. Lemaire
Avril 1991

Cette étude se fait en collaboration avec ACÉEA et est subventionnée par CRSH. Les femmes responsables d'une famille forment le groupe qui croît le plus vite dans les universités et dans le monde du travail mais qui est aussi le plus vulnérable à la surcharge et aux conflits de rôles, mais nous connaissons très peu sur le rapport entre leurs besoins et le soutien disponible. Cette recherche explore comment les étudiantes en andragogie perçoivent leur expérience des rôles multiples (le degré de tension, la surcharge et les conflits de rôles) et décrit la nature réelle de cette expérience (combinaisons des rôles, priorités et situations familiales). Nous explorons également le soutien perçu et réel, autant affectif qu'instrumental, offert par la famille, l'université et le milieu de travail. Le soutien universitaire implique des styles d'enseignement adaptés, des horaires flexibles, des programmes et des services adaptés (Miller, 1989), alors que le soutien du milieu de travail inclut des heures flexibles, des congés de perfectionnement et une augmentation de salaire ou une promotion à l'obtention du diplôme. Les femmes reçoivent moins de soutien du conjoint et moins de congé payés que les hommes (Googins & Bowden, 1987), et les adultes trouvent les universités moins aidantes et tolérantes que les jeunes étudiants (Kuh et Sturgis, 1980).

L'approche qualitative de Miles et Huberman (1984) est utilisée afin d'assurer la comparaison des données, cueillies dans plusieurs sites différents, un échantillonnage par contraste sert à identifier les dimensions et l'étendue des variations entre les programmes et les étudiantes (Patton, 1982). Les 3 écoles d'andragogie choisies varient beaucoup entre elles par leur programme (traditionnel ou adapté), par leur localisation (grandeur de la ville et province de l'est, de l'ouest ou du centre du pays) et par la langue. Nous avons ainsi interrogé deux étudiantes, deux professeures et le directeur de chaque école visitée ainsi que quelques employeurs selon des guides d'entrevue pré-testés pour chaque type d'acteurs. Cette communication présente l'analyse préliminaire des 8 entrevues étudiantes.

Les demandes familiales semblent influencer les choix par rapport aux études qui occupent souvent le troisième rang après la famille et le travail. Celles qui travaillent à temps plein et celles qui ont de jeunes enfants rapportent plus de tension, mais toutes ces femmes trouvent l'expérience de rôles multiples à la fois enrichissante et stressante. Les effets positifs plus importants touchent les bénéfices inattendus au niveau de la confiance et des habiletés nouvelles. La tension inclut une surcharge, de sacrifice de temps consacré à la vie personnelle, sociale et affective, et le conflit périodique lorsqu'un rôle demande un plus grand engagement. Les femmes ont reçu du soutien affectif (encouragement) et pratique (partage des tâches, etc.) de leur famille immédiate et élargie, de certaines amies et d'autres étudiantes vivant la même situation. Quelques étudiantes ont eu du soutien instrumental au travail (congé sans solde, temps flexible).

Plusieurs ont apprécié le soutien affectif apporté par leurs professeurs-es ainsi que leur souplesse et leur compréhension. Elles ont apprécié aussi la souplesse (horaires, études à temps partiel) des départements d'andragogie mais ont déploré la rigidité et le manque de services adaptés des universités. Ces femmes ont utilisé plusieurs stratégies pour surmonter les obstacles rencontrés. La stratégie employée le plus souvent consistait à rendre ces attentes plus réalistes (ex. en ségrégant ou en priorisant les rôles) mais quelques-unes ont négocié des modifications dans les attentes d'autrui ou ont essayé de tout faire ("superfemme").

Women with family responsibilities form the fastest growing constituant both in the university and in the workplace. They are also the group most vulnerable to role strain caused by constant overload combined with conflicting demands (Areshenel & Pearlin, 1987; Barnett & Baruch, 1987). Many professors and practitioners of adult education who are aware of the difficult juggling act facing their multiple role students make attempts to support them. However, most policies and practices still tend to treat the family and the university/workplace as if they were two separate worlds, leaving students to cope as best they can (Googins & Bowden, 1987). This paper describes the structure and preliminary results of a qualitative research project focused on multiple role experiences of adult women studying adult education. This SSHRC-funded study, undertaken in partnership with CASAE, explores experiences of students who are also workers and parents as well as identifying supports offered by family, work and university environments. The overall study includes interviews with women studying adult education and social work in 8 Canadian programmes, as well as interviews with professors, directors and employers. This paper deals only with the adult education student data. This paper begins by pointing to the relevance of the study, its theoretical and methodological framework are discussed then preliminary selected results of content analysis are presented.

There were both **practical and theoretical reasons** for undertaking this study. On a practical level, few tools are available to help students prepare realistically for university re-entry and for role conflict. Professors find little help as they struggle to teach, guide or advise multiple role (MR) students (Kirk & Douglas, 1983). The senior author's attempts to deal with her own multiple role conflicts and help MR students convinced her of the importance of undertaking this project. The study should help university administrators, professional associations, professors, students and employers become more aware of MR students' needs and reflect on the fit between those needs and policies and services. For although professionals must become lifelong learners if they wish to remain competent in a rapidly changing world, they cannot do so without adequate support (Houle, 1980; Kidd, 1980). There is little research linking social science theory on multiple roles to adult education literature on students' needs and university responsiveness. Multiple role research focuses on worker-parents rather than on students and it emphasizes statistical relationships rather than quality of experience in different roles and combinations (Dyk, 1987; Hirsch & Rapkin, 1986). Adult education research describes student characteristics (Schütze, 1987) barriers to participation (Cross, 1981; Blais et al., 1989), and adaptations in programmes, schedules, services or teaching styles (Miller, 1989). Some studies describe family support (Hobfoll, 1986) but there is little available on workplace support. A few Canadian studies focus on the fit between adults' needs and university response (Skelhorne, 1975; Spears & Potter, 1987) or describe specific programme adaptations (Callahan & Wharf, 1989).

The **theoretical framework** is organized around two main dimensions : the multiple role experience and supports available. The multiple role experience includes students' actual role situation (number and combinations of roles, commitments and demands related to each role) and the extent to which that situation is perceived as being one of role strain. Role strain is a felt difficulty in meeting role demands; it includes role overload (time constraints) and role conflict due to conflicting demands (Goode, 1960; Coverman, 1989). While multiple roles can be enriching, (Sieber, 1974), most students experience strain due to time and resource constraints and difficulty balancing work, family and academic demands (Warshal & Southern, 1986; Patchner, 1982). Work demands reflect overtime requirements and flexibility or rigidity of work time, while student demands can vary with both level and stage (coursework, thesis) of study. Intensity of role demands can vary with number of hours committed to paid work or part/full time nature of study. Family demands include numbers, age and special needs of dependents. Existing research suggests a link between actual role situation and role strain. Role combinations involving parenting add role strain for women, who bear primary family responsibilities yet have trouble bargaining due to low power (Barnett & Baruch 1985). Employed mothers who focus on family roles report high strain if family support is low (Zambrana & Frith, 1988) while those prioritizing other roles experience strain if their husbands disagree with their choice (VanMeter & Agronow, 1982). Role conflict occurs especially when parenting demands are strong or inflexible and work commitment is strong (Areshenel & Pearlin, 1987; Froberg et al. 1986).

Affective and instrumental support can reduce the impact of role strain, as students with support systems report less role conflict (Menks & Tupper, 1987; Dyk, 1987). The nuclear and extended family is a primary source of support (Hobfoll, 1986) but women students receive less support from their spouses than do men (Houstonhobourg & Strange, 1986; Bolger et al., 1989). University affective support varies with mission and size but adult students see the university as less tolerant and supportive than do younger students (Kuh & Sturgis, 1980). Universities range from removing constraints on adults' participation through separate but lower status programmes for adults to integrating adaptations into regular programmes (Ackell et al., 1982). Instrumental supports include flexible schedules and programmes, admission, administrative procedures as well as student services geared to adults' needs and timetables (Coats, 1989; Cross & McCartan, 1984). Faculty helpfulness, expressed in a flexible, understanding response to multiple role students' needs, is a strong predictor of adult student satisfaction (Kirk & Dorfman, 1983). The workplace is beginning to recognize that employees need help balancing family and work roles (Skrzycki, 1990) but support for continuing study varies widely. Workplace support can include a positive attitude, flexible hours, unpaid leave, rewards upon completion or direct financial support (paid leave, reimbursing tuition). Paid leave tends to be granted at the pleasure of the employer (Thomas, 1983), men receive such leave more often than women (Spears & Potter, 1987) and those receiving paid leave report less fatigue and stress (Bélanger et al., 1985).

Multiple role students encounter obstacles which can discourage them from enrolling or lead to dropping out. Institutional obstacles (inflexible locations, schedules or programmes) and workplace obstacles (lack of tangible recognition for achievement) can discourage worker-students (Blais et al., 1989). Dispositional obstacles leave some adults feeling insecure about their abilities and skills, while others face various difficulties related to their work, family or financial situation (Cross, 1981; Long, 1983; Iovacchini et al., 1985; Coats, 1989). Students' ability to surmount these obstacles can be influenced by their coping strategies, which may allow them to control the effects of both the stressful situation they face and their own reactions to that situation (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Effective strategies are needed particularly when individuals are faced with a new or problematic situation which challenges their usual methods of coping (White, 1985). Hall (1960 cited in Bentall & O'Hare, 1987) identifiees 3 types of coping strategies. Structural role redefinition involves negotiating a change in others' role expectations, while personal role redefinition leads to adoption of more realistic self-expectations. Finally, reactive role behaviour is an attempt to meet one's own and others' expectations in spite of the strain involved. The choice of a given strategy depends on individual and situational characteristics as well as an assessment of the demands being made (Gilbert & Holahan, 1982; Bentell & O'Hare, 1987; Bentell & Greenhaus, 1983).

The methodology of the study is as follows. An exploratory research design was used because of its utility in clarifying concepts and exploring possible relationships between variables (Tripodi, 1985). Miles & Huberman's (1984) qualitative approach chosen was used to bound and reduce data in this multiple site study. A purposive sampling strategy was used to select both adult education departments and particular students. Sampling was designed to ensure diversity, with a view to identifying common patterns as well as variations on key dimensions. The three sampled departments are located in cities of varying sizes in three different regions of Canada, involve varying degrees of adaptation to an adult clientele, and include both English and French programmes. Contrast sampling of students was designed to permit diversity in age, role combination, parent, student and employee status, ethnic background, type and intensity of role demands, ease in coping with multiple roles. However, all students shared being women aged 25 or over, who have spent at least two years outside an educational institution, who are emolled in an adult education university programme, have parenting responsibilites and are employed at least 9 hours a week.

Professors and student representatives in each department were asked to approach two or three students who were interviewed by the authors using a pre-tested interview guide developed for the study. The interview tapes were transcribed and coded, using the intercoder comparison procedure suggested by Miles & Huberman (1984) to ensure adequate validity and reliability. The two researchers, working independently, developed preliminary descriptive theme codes based on the theoretical framework and on initial analysis of 4 English and French interviews. Comparison of codes led to keeping those both had identified, while revising, adding or rejecting others. The researchers revised the coding scheme to increase intercoder reliability, and subsequent coding was done by one researcher then checked by the other with discussion of areas of uncertainty. The Ethnograph qualitative analysis programme was used to sort and arrange data for subsequent display and each researcher analyzed different parts of the data prior to discussion of results.

Preliminary content analysis results available at the time of this writing are presented in this section. All eight women interviewed are part-time students either in a master's programme or a graduate diploma, four work full-time and four part-time, and all have parenting responsibilities. One became a stepmother while she was a student, and three others are single parents. The intensity of family demands seems to influence choices made about study pace as well as having an impact on role strain. Several women chose part-time study as a compromise, bearing in mind the time and energy required to meet needs of young children and to do some paid work for financial reasons. Their family and financial situations meant that most had little choice but to put study third in terms of priorities, or as one student put it : "Anything left over I put into my studies". Commitment to the student role varied, however, with most putting in more energy at the thesis stage. Age and number of children seems to influence the degree of strain. Those with two young children found it harder, although older children still need an "advisor and worrier", and family changes (newly arrived stepchild) can force women to shift role priorities. Those with full-time employment reported more role overload especially when work demands included overtime.

All of these students found the multiple role experience both enriching and stressful, suggesting that the theoretical enrichment versus strain debate (Sieber 1974, Goode 1960) may not be relevant to multiple role women today. On the positive side, these women talked about direct effects of their learning ("it enabled me to start my own company", "I'm comstantly applying what I learn at work"), but most focused on the indirect, unexpected benefits which were more important to them than the content learned. Several mentioned feeling better about themselves (more balanced, more self-knowledge, more confident) or developing new communication and relationship skills. One woman reported being less of a "mother hen" with her children and feeling less need to be "superwoman" . A few became more organized, more skilled at time management and more confident because they'd studied under such difficult circumstances : "...being successful while juggling all these things is tremendously self-esteem building".

However, these benefits did not come without a price. All these women reported role strain, which was constantly intense for some and periodic for others. Women working full-time along with their other roles reported constant overload : "Every time I was doing one thing, something else wasn't getting done". Those in this situation found "there is really no let up...you are working on such a crazy kind of schedule". One such woman felt it was adding the third (student) role which made the stress constant and meant she was always playing catch-up. Several women didn't realize the stress they were under until they had finished. One even rushed off to write her thesis in a spare moment before being reminded that she'd already handed it in! For most of the women, however, role strain was experienced as periodic flare-ups when faced with conflicting demands. Role conflict occured mainly when demands from two roles temporarily increased, such as when a child became sick or injured on a day when a seminar presentation had to be done or when there was a deadline at work or at the university. Nor did these women have time in their schedules to get sick themselves. Having to temporarily prioritize a role outside the family caused guilt for several women, as did thinking of study while looking after a child ("I wasn't with her when I was with her"). Lack of free time with spouse, children, and friends led to strained relationships. Children and spouses complained, some women lost contact with friends who didn't understand their limited availability and one woman separated from her spouse temporarily. Lack of time for self, to do things they enjoy was a problem for several women whose study time became their only "selfish time ". Studying part-time seemed to go on forever and felt like always having a task unfinished : "It was like leaving the dishes overnight knowing you had to get up for them in the morning, except it was three years long".

Support from various sources did help these women cope. Family was a major source of support, as Hobfoll (1986) suggests. Husbands, extended family and children old enough to understand provided much-needed encouragement. Some women got practical help from family as well. Some husbands provided financial support or helped their wives learn computer skills. Several husbands became more flexible by taking on more child care. One single parent reported a higher degree of sharing because of her ex-spouse taking full charge of child care every second weekend and another whose husband was usually away took over almost completely when he was there. However, several women described their husbands' role as "helpful", noting that they resented still having to organize the household and ask for help. Several pointed out that they would not have a nanny, nor would their children be fed if they left these tasks to their husbands. Some resented the lack of sharing but decided "you can't teach an old dog new tricks" or that negotiating more spousal responsability was not worth the conflict it would produce. A few women had siblings, parents or in-laws who provided regular or periodic child care (in times of crisis or intense student demands). Most noted that it was easier to negotiate child care for course time than for library time. In general, though, most were fairly satisfied with family support.

Peer support was also crucial, both that coming from understanding friends and that provided by women studying under similar circumstances. Some friends and neighbours were supportive and understanding, providing practical help such as occasional child care or lending typewriters and books. For some women, finding other multiple role students was crucial. As one woman put it : "you just need one person but you really need her". Two students became learning partners who "cried on each others' shoulders, screamed at each other's husbands, took short-cuts for each other, traded literature" and provided compassion and understanding. As the two seldom hit crises at the same time, they kept each other going despite the difficulties. This support is especially important because some longstanding friends resented the limited time MR women could spend with them, or else did not understand how much completing the study programme meant to them. As part-time study made it difficult to integrate into student groups or participate in university activities, the support of a few multiple role students who "had been there" was critical.

Six of the students got some support at work. They felt encouraged or respected by their colleagues for their commitment to study and most had some flexibility in use of time. Only two reported strong support, and one of those had made support for study a condition for her accepting her new full-time job. The other worked in a very supportive health department where the (mainly female) employees wanted to help and learn from each other. In addition to ad-hoc flexibility in emergencies, she had a 4-day work week which allowed her a day off biweekly as well as paid time to attend workshops. Unpaid study leave was also available, librarians did literature searches and photocopied articles for her. In return, she shared her learning with others. One student was able to get work typed by secretaries, another took 2 short unpaid leaves, but none benefitted from paid leave. The latter is not surprising given lack of a skill development leave policy in Canada and research suggesting such leave is offered less often to women (Spears & Potter, 1987). The latter may reflect women's precarious employment status : study respondents with managerial, senior, full-time positions received more support than those whose family priorities had led to their being in part-time or temporary jobs. Lack of support may also reflect limited value placed on university learning in some settings, as one respondent suggested, or concern that workers who were studying were not really committed, as noted by another woman who was teased about her hectic pace. In general, women were not as satisfied with work support as with that received from their families.

All the women had a lot to say about university support and the lack of it. Consistent with the literature (Kirk & Dorfman, 1983), individual professors who understood their situation (often because they were themselves juggling multiple roles) were the strongest source of support. These professors expressed confidence in students' ability, were flexible when emergencies made meeting a deadline impossible, listened when they needed to talk, and provided constructive feedback on improving their work. These professors recognized that "school isn't everyone's entire reason for existing" and that it had to fit in with other parts of students' lives. Respect for those other roles was expressed by encouraging students to share learning done at home or at work and by encouraging self-direction, two time-honoured principles of adult education. However, some professors went further, seeing "juggling as part of adult education", so that they were understanding when setbacks occured. Not all professors were helpful, however. Some who had never experienced multiple roles asked how these students could complete a thesis without being "closeted away for 6 months". Others did not go far enough in encouraging MR students to help each other find learning partners, while some professors had evaluation based on group projects which were impossible to fit into MR students' schedules.

If professorial understanding was the key component in affective support, institutional flexibility was central to providing practical support. That flexibility took many forms from self-directed, distance programmes which allowed students to set their own schedules and pace through part-time and intensive sessions to recognition for past learning and simplified administrative procedures such as telephone course registration. Several women would not have continued their education if the particular programme they chose had not been available, because financial, time or distance constraints made traditional programmes inaccessible. Several chose adult education over nursing or MBA programmes because the latter were too rigid, offering only occasional part-time options. While these women found adult education departments to be supportive, the larger university offered little understanding. One said her large, urban university had an ideal student type who was between 20 and 25 years old and had no other responsibilities. Several women bemoaned the lack of available campus child care, particularly drop-in care to allow them to attend lectures, and one suggested departments should have a play corner available if mothers need to bring a child along. Limited library and office hours, student services open only during "regular" working hours and intensive sessions planned at inconvenient times for mothers were other difficulties. Students in distance education noted that the flexibility advantage had to be weighed against the solitude of working alone and the almost too easy possibilty of delaying deadlines endlessly.

The students suggest that university obstacles reflect a general lack of societal support for multiple role women. As one woman put it, "everything falls squarely on the shoulders of the woman" to find ways of managing her multiple role situation. Both the workplace and the university reflect ageist and sexist attitudes of not wanting to invest in older women or recognize skills acquired in the home. These societal attitudes helped produce dispositional obstacles (Cross, 1981) in many women, who felt insecure, incompetent, concerned they could not learn or outdated because they lacked computer or research skills. Some felt guilty that their return to study meant less commitment to family roles, especially because many women are not comfortable doing activities which benefit mainly themselves.

These women were creative and determined in their search for strategies to overcome the many obstacles they faced. While eight types of strategies were identified, those used most frequently fell into the personal role definition category which involved changing one's self-expectations (Dyk, 1987). These women learned to accept less-than-perfect performances because of their multiple responsibilities, though several reduced their standards with great difficulty. Several learned to recognize their strengths and weaknesses (being articulate, having trouble reading for long periods), most women had role priorities (mother then worker then student) which helped them deal with conflict as well as make periodic decisions about coursework and study commitments. However, these priorities were constantly juggled to deal with urgent role demands and commitments, leading to the feeling that something was always being shortchanged. Some segregated their roles temporarily by dropping a course or taking paid leave, while others tried to keep their roles segregated permanently (such as by refusing to bring work home). Many developed organizational strategies which allowed them to manage time and mobilize resources effectively. Structural role redefinition (which involves role bargaining with the family, work or university) was not used as often, perhaps because women find bargaining difficult when the immediate, tangible benefits for others is harder to demonstrate than time spent in paid employment. The least used strategy was reactive role behaviour : trying to do everything or being a "superwoman". This is the least effecitve way to reduce conflict (Bentell & Greenhaus, 1983); those making this choice used more strategies, perhaps because doing everything well requires constant organization, negotiation and strong personal skills.

These early study results need to be analyzed more fully and compared to those from other sources (professors), before implications can be traced. However, these results suggest that being a multiple role student requires, as one student put it, "enormous reserves of energy, courage and strength." MR students are getting some support from individual professors and from their colleagues, families and peers. Adult education departments seem to show consistency between what they teach and what they do, but this support is often hard to arrange in a hostile university environment. Much of the support available is informal or is sought out and mobilized by the students themselves, and the burden is largely on them to find ways of surviving. More needs to be done to make universities and the workplace aware of the learning conditions and the potential contribution of multiple role students, so that the responsibility for supporting their learning is more evenly shared among all.

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PROBLEMES D'IDENTIFICATION DE L'APPRENTISSAGE DE L'ADULTE AU MUSéE: éLéMENTS DE SOLUTION

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Introduction

L'étude de l'apprentissage spontané de l'adulte au musée est difficile à plusieurs égards. Dans le musée, on suppose que le contact avec les objets rares, nouveaux, étonnants ou provenant de lieux éloignés dans le temps, doivent provoquer la curiosité et l'intérêt. Ce contact susciterait l'exploration et offrirait des opportunités d'apprentissage (Chase, 1975, Gurian, 1981). Mais pour avoir lieu, l'apprentissage ne doit-il pas correspondre aux besoins et aux intérêts des individus? Comment identifier cet apprentissage et comment l'étudier sont des questions essentielles pour savoir s'il faut supporter l'apprenant dans sa démarche d'apprentissage et comment le faire. Aussi, l'apprenant doit-il être supporté dans sa démarche par la mise en exposition elle-même ou par d'autres moyens comme le guide par exemple?

L'éducation et l'apprentissage au musée

L'éducation est l'un des principaux objectifs de l'institution muséale (Alexander, 1988). L'objet muséal est informatif mais polysémique, porteur de significations multiples et chaque visiteur y voit des aspects différents selon son expertise, ses intérêts, son style d'apprentissage etc. L'apprentissage au musée est un apprentissage de type expérientiel et spontané. Il se fait de façon plutôt informelle, non structurée, fortuite et non intentionnelle. C'est un apprentissage essentiellement visuel plutôt que verbal (comme à l'école). Il est volontaire dans le sens de non imposé, désiré, plaisant et rarement évalué (Ames, 1988, Booth et al. 1982, Dufresne-Tassé, 1989). Lorsqu'il s'agit d'une exposition utilisant les principes de la pédagogie silencieuse, cet apprentissage spontané aurait lieu sans le support d'un guide mais simplement par la mise en exposition elle-même, (Doobs et Eisner, 1990). Par contre, certains musées se déclarent avoir une mission didactique bien identifiée de réalisation de programmes éducatifs avec des objectifs bien définis, (Sabar et Shamir, 1988).

Dans le musée, l'apprenant doit être particulièrement actif sur la plan intellectuel pour saisir le sens de l'objet exposé. En effet, les exhibits sont très souvent coupés de leur contexte et le visiteur doit reconstituer ce contexte lui-même en se référant principalement à son imaginaire. De plus, les explications écrites fournies par les concepteurs de l'exposition ne peuvent répondre à tout le questionnement suscité par les objets exposés. Ceci est particulièrement vrai lorsque le visiteur ne peut bénéficier des explication d'un guide compétent.

De plus, toute acquisition d'un contenu nouveau doit s'insérer dans la structure des connaissances antérieures, les préciser, les approfondir, et parfois les transformer pour être bien intégrée par le sujet (Stahl, 1978). Autrement, l'information qui n'a pas été intégrée risque fort d'être oubliée sans apporter de changements dans les connaissances de l'individu. Enfin, l'apprentissage au musée ne peut être distingué de l'ensemble du fonctionnement du visiteur sur les plans rationnel, affectif, imaginatif et sensoriel, (Dufresne-Tassé, 1989).

Comment étudier l'apprentissage au musée?

1° La méthode de "test post-test"

La méthode qui consiste à donner un test avant la visite et un autre une fois la visite terminée pour évaluer les apprentissages réalisés, utilise la réponse à des questions, la résolution de problèmes ou d'exercices nécessitant l'emploi des habiletés ou connaissances nouvellement apprises au musée (Chase, 1975, Screven, 1974).

Cette méthode restreint la situation d'apprentissage et suppose que les individus n'ont rien appris d'autre que ce qui a été prévu par le concepteur de l'exposition. Or, les objets étant polysémiques n'ont pas la même signification pour tous les visiteurs. Les visiteurs ne sont pas tous au même niveau de connaissances et ont des expériences différentes qui déterminent leur sensibilité à tel ou tel aspect de l'objet. Ces expériences personnelles différentes font que même dans des situations contrôlées et standardisées, comme en classe, il y a des apprentissages non prévus qui ont lieu.

D'autres apprentissages, quoique déclenchés par l'exhibit peuvent rester non détectés ou encore peuvent n'apparaître que plus tard suite à une réflexion ou à une discussion sur l'exposition ou encore suite à l'observation dans la vie d'un phénomène ou d'un objet semblable à ceux exposés. Donc, cette méthode ne permet pas de rendre compte de certaines acquisitions qui peuvent être des plus significatives pour le visiteur.

2° La méthode de l'entrevue

La méthode de l'entrevue consiste à réaliser un entretien avec les visiteurs une fois la visite terminée. L'entretien porte sur l'identification des apprentissages réalisés et sur la description des contenus et des informations acquises durant la visite.

La méthode de l'entrevue post-visite présente des avantages, puisque la spontanéité du visiteur est respectée et le biais moindre en autant que les questions posées sont ouvertes.

Cependant, comme cela a été mentionné, les visiteurs peuvent ne pas être conscients des apprentissages effectués et peuvent aussi avoir de la difficulté à les exprimer vu qu'il s'agit parfois d'apprentissages complexes. Ils peuvent aussi ne pas les exprimer par crainte d'être peu clairs ou encore par paresse. De plus l'individu peut ignorer qu'il a appris ou être incapable de l'exprimer adéquatement en mots (Dufresne-Tassé, 1989). Un apprentissage peut rester non complété si l'individu ne trouve pas de réponse à ses questions, s'il ne peut procéder à la vérification d'une hypothèse ou s'il ne peut donner une signification à ce qu'il a constaté. Les sujets étudiés par Lapointe (1990) vont parfois jusqu'à nier des apprentissages que la chercheure a identifiés dans ce qu'ils ont dit durant la visite.

Il peut aussi y avoir oubli, même si l'entrevue a lieu immédiatement après la visite à cause du nombre élevé d'objets que le visiteur aura vus, (Lapointe, 1990). Mais l'oubli ne signifie pas qu'il y a nécessairement absence d'apprentissage. D'ailleurs, avec un test de reconnaissance on se rend compte que l'individu a appris plus que ce qu'il peut exprimer spontanément lors d'une entrevue ouverte. Le visiteur non expert ne possède souvent pas une structure de classement des objets des connaissances ou des informations quand il entre au musée. Cette état de choses ne lui permet pas de relier et d'intégrer le contenu ou l'information nouvelle à ce qu'il savait déjà pour la saisir, l'assimiler, en un mot se l'approprier.

Enfin, les visiteurs peuvent avoir des conceptions de l'apprentissage fort exigeantes ou particulières et ne pas mentionner comme apprentissage ce qui peut l'être. Par exemple, un sujet peut avoir une conception utilitariste de l'apprentissage ou encore ne considérer comme apprentissage véritable que ce qui est de nature théorique et abstraite.

3° La méthode proposée

La méthode qui a été adoptée par Chamberland (1990), Dufresne-Tassé (1991), Dufresne-Tassé et al. (à paraître), Morelli, 1990) s'inspire de celle de "la pensée à haute voix" et la complète. Cette méthode consiste à inviter le visiteur, durant la visite, à exprimer à haute voix ses pensées, ses réflexions et ses émotions, lesquelles sont enregistrées sur cassette par un accompagnateur, transcrites et étudiées au moyen de l'analyse de contenu. Les passages décrivant des apprentissages sont identifiés au cours de cette analyse.

Les auteurs précédents ont choisi de compléter et de préciser les données ainsi recueillies par une entrevue post-visite de type semi-ouvert. Enfin, une approche relativement nouvelle a été adoptée. Nous montrons aux visiteurs les passages de leurs "verbatims" où nous avons identifié des apprentissages. Ensuite nous leur demandons s'ils sont du même avis que nous dans le but de confirmer cette analyse. Ces passages correspondent à des endroits où le visiteur a clairement exprimé qu'il a acquis une connaissance nouvelle, corrigé une croyance antérieure qui s'est avérée erronée, a abandonné ou remplacé une connaissance antérieure vague ou inadéquate par une autre plus adéquate, plus valide, ou a changé ses attitudes ou ses valeurs.

La combinaison des moyens mentionnés permet, à notre avis, de cerner de façon assez exhaustive le phénomène étudié. L'analyse des verbalisations à haute voix durant la visite permet de recueillir des données d'une manière directe et immédiate. L'entrevue permet de s'assurer que les visiteurs ont eu l'occasion de s'exprimer sur les mêmes points et notamment permet d'identifier des apprentissages qui pourraient avoir eu lieu mais qui n'ont pas été exprimés spontanément. Dans cette entrevue, nous demandons aux sujets d'identifier les informations nouvelles que la visite leur a apportées, c'est-à-dire ce qu'ils ne savaient pas avant la visite et qu'ils estiment avoir appris grâce à elle.

Cette méthode laisse au visiteur une grande liberté d'expression puisque l'accompagnateur ne pose pas de questions qui pourraient orienter le visiteur dans un sens particulier. Mais le visiteur exprime-t-il tout? Cette question demeure la même pour les trois méthodes. Le fait de chercher auprès des sujets eux-mêmes la confirmation des analyses des chercheurs donne à ces analyses une plus grande validité.

Nous utilisons aussi une seconde entrevue dans laquelle nous demandons aux sujets ce qu'ils ont retenu (appris) de leur visite, six mois après celle-ci, afin d'identifier les apprentissages encore présents ou qui auraient pu se produire entre temps.

L'apprentissage se traduit souvent par une augmentation du sentiment de compétence et de l'estime de soi, mais parfois, certains apprentissages dérangent les individus, les menacent et déséquilibrent voire désorganisent leur structure antérieure de connaissances. Alors, au lieu d'assimiler le nouveau contenu, de l'intégrer à leurs connaissances, ils le rejettent pour ne pas avoir à changer.

Certaines questions liées à l'étude de l'apprentissage de l'adulte au musée méritent encore un intérêt particulier. Les sujets étudiés sont des adultes qui n'ont pas l'habitude d'être considérés comme des apprenants. L'adulte, en général, accepte-t-il facilement d'être identifié comme apprenant surtout lorsqu'il est supposé posséder des connaissances sur le contenu de l'exposition? D'après Gurian (1981) cela ne semble pas être le cas. Pour cette raison, avouer son ignorance de choses qu'on est supposé connaître n'est pas facile pour l'adulte, particulièrement en présence des autres. Enfin, faut-il vraiment que le thème soit relativement connu du visiteur pour qu'il y ait apprentissage? Faute de quoi, le sujet ne possèderait pas le cadre ou la structure lui permettant d'intégrer les nouvelles données à ses connaissances antérieures.

La répartition des sujets en groupes selon leurs connaissances préalables sur le thème de l'exposition avant la visite permettrait de voir comment les différents groupes se comportent face à des contenus plus ou moins nouveaux.

Conclusion

Etudier l'apprentissage au musée est une tâche qui nécessite beaucoup d'imagination et d'innovation. Le caractère informel de cet apprentissage spontané et le fait que les visiteurs diffèrent entre eux, à plusieurs égards rend cette étude difficile. Une telle étude nécessite l'expérimentation et l'utilisation d'approches qui permettent de résoudre ces problèmes tout en respectant la spécificité de ce type d'apprentissage et de répondre aux questions des éducateurs et des muséologues.

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STRATÉGIES D'APPRENTISSAGE UTILISÉES SPONTANÉMENT PAR DES ÉTUDIANTS ADULTES.

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Problématique

Plusieurs auteurs s'accordent à dire que l'utilisation des stratégies d'apprentissage est nécessaire pour apprendre efficacement et pour le faire de façon autonome (Zimmerman et Martinez-Pons, 1988). Les résultats de l'apprentissage sont atteints de façon optimale lorsque, entre autre l'apprenant utilise des stratégies appropriées. Les stratégies d'apprentissage sont des activités qui ont pour but l'acquisition d'informations ou d'habiletés par l'apprenant et impliquent de sa part une participation active dans son propre processus d'apprentissage ainsi que l'élaboration de ses objectifs et les moyens pour les atteindre (Zimmerman et Martinez-Pons, 1988). Ce sont des processus contrôlés par l'apprenant lui-même et destinés à l'acquisition, à la manipulation ou à l'utilisation de contenus techniques ou académiques (Derry et Murphy, 1986).

Les stratégies d'apprentissage impliquent la mise en marche d'opérations cognitives qui régulent l'acquisition d'un savoir (Rigney, 1980). Elles sont d'un niveau supérieur à celui des habiletés d'apprentissage car ce sont les stratégies qui sélectionnent, coordonnent et appliquent les habiletés (Killonen et Shute, 1989). Les séquences d'activités dont se compose une stratégie peuvent être modifiées par l'apprenant pour s'adapter au contexte ce qui lui fournit le moyen de contrôler son apprentissage et s'autoréguler au lieu de dépendre de la régulation par autrui. Cette notion d'autorégulation n'est souvent pas mentionnée de façon explicite mais présente implicitement dans celle de stratégie.

L'étude des stratégies d'apprentissage pose plusieurs problèmes théoriques, conceptuels et méthodologiques (Hrimech, 1990). Parmi ces problèmes il y a l'opérationalisation et l'observation des stratégies d'apprentissage, leur spécificité, leur acquisition et leur distinction des techniques d'apprentissage. La relation entre les stratégies et les différents contenus d'apprentissage est loin d'être élucidée. Le rôle de l'affectivité, de l'autorégulation et de la métacognition dans l'utilisation des stratégies pose plus d'une problème. De plus, les stratégies d'apprentissage sont parfois fort idiosyncratiques et varient d'un individu à l'autre, mais aussi, d'une tâche à l'autre et d'un domaine à l'autre. Les stratégies utilisées par un individu sont liées à son style d'apprentissage, à sa personnalité. Les stratégies d'apprentissage ne peuvent donc être étudiées séparément d'une tâche spécifique selon Alexander et Judy (1988). Pour ces raisons, l'enseignement, le transfert et la généralisation des stratégies demeurent les questions qui retiennent le plus l'attention des chercheurs.

Les stratégies d'apprentissage sont acquises par la pratique scolaire et font rarement l'objet d'un enseignement systématique. Les enseignants donneraient souvent des travaux qui nécessitent l'utilisation de stratégies avant que les étudiants ne les aient acquises (Capper, 1984). Dans ces cas, l'échec n'est pas dû à un manque d'habileté ou de motivation mais à l'absence de stratégies efficaces et l'apprenant ne réussirait pas essentiellement parce qu'ils ne sait pas comment aborder la tâche d'apprentissage en question. Cette hypothèse comporte des implications pratiques pour l'enseignement des plus stimulantes.

Pour mieux étudier ces questions, il nous semble prioritaire d'identifier les stratégies utilisées de façon autonome par des apprenants supposés être habiles. Le but principal de cette recherche était de savoir quelles stratégies d'apprentissage sont utilisées spontanément par des étudiants adultes expérimentés pour apprendre dans le domaine académique des contenus de leur choix. Le cadre de référence de cette recherche a été emprunté principalement à Weinstein et Mayer (1986), Zimmerman et Martinez-Pons, (1988); et complété inductivement par l'introduction de dimensions apparues lors d'une étude pilote.

Méthodologie

Les sujets de cette recherche sont dix étudiants adultes de niveau maîtrise et doctorat du département de psychopédagogie et d'andragogie de l'université de Montréal, âgés de 25 à 50 ans. Les données ont été recueillies au moyen d'une entrevue semi-dirigée. Cette entrevue a été élaborée à partir des écrits des auteurs retenus dans le cadre de référence et complétée de façon inductive. Nous avons demandé aux sujets quelles stratégies ils utilisaient spontanément face à des tâches et des contenus d'apprentissage et si les stratégies décrites leur permettaient de mieux apprendre. Les données ont été analysées au moyen d'une grille d'analyse de contenu. Nous avons choisi de ne pas sélectionner un contenu d'apprentissage prédéterminé, comme cela a souvent été fait dans les recherches recensées. Cette approche permet de recueillir des stratégies plus variées et plus complexes que si les sujets étaient limités dans leurs réponses par des contenus ou tâches spécifiques prédéterminées par le chercheur.

Présentation et discussion des résultats

Les principales stratégies d'apprentissage utilisées dans le domaine académique et qui ont été identifiées dans cette recherche peuvent être d'ordre cognitif, d'ordre affectif et enfin d'ordre cognitif et affectif en même temps. Les stratégies rapportées sont les suivantes.

1-L'établissement de liens entre le contenu d'apprentissage et un aspect extérieur à cet apprentissage

Cette stratégie d'établissement de liens est l'une des plus répandues chez les sujets interviewés. L'aspect extérieur à l'apprentissage peut être la réalité, une expérience personnelle de l'adulte, son vécu quotidien, d'autres domaines d'apprentissage ou encore les apprentissages réalisés antérieurement. Cette stratégie semble donner de bons résultats dans le sens qu'elle aide l'utilisateur dans son apprentissage, lui permet de réussir. Ces liens semblent donner du sens au contenu d'apprentissage nouveau en le rendant moins détaché de la réalité, moins aride pour l'apprenant. Un fait important à souligner ici concerne l'autorégulation. C'est l'apprenant lui-même qui doit faire ces liens et non quelqu'un d'autre, comme le professeur. Néanmoins, cela ne signifie pas qu'un professeur ou un autre agent externe ne peut pas aider l'apprenant, le stimuler pour qu'il cherche et établisse ses propres liens.

2- L'utilisation d'une période de latence

Cette stratégie consiste à laisser momentanément de côté un apprentissage qui s'avère difficile. Elle semble permettre à ces apprenants de continuer à apprendre de façon plus ou moins consciente pendant qu'ils sont occupés à d'autres tâches. De plus elle permet d'échapper au stress et à la fatigue dus à la tâche d'apprentissage. Les résultats positifs de l'utilisation de cette stratégie ont été soulignés par plusieurs sujets. Néanmoins, cette stratégie pourrait dans certains cas favoriser l'abandon de la tâche, surtout si elle est trop souvent utilisée face à des difficultés.

3- La création d'un état de disponibilité et d'ouverture.

Il s'agit pour l'apprenant de se placer dans une attitude de réceptivité et d'acceptation favorable à l'apprentissage. Selon Weinstein et Mayer, (1986), cette stratégie d'ordre affectif joue un rôle important dans l'acceptation de l'apprentissage par l'apprenant, son implication dans la tâche d'apprentissage et finalement sa réussite dans les études. Zimmerman et Martinez-Pons, quant à eux, mentionnent une stratégie appelée organisation de l'environnement physique externe à l'apprenant comme l'élimination des distracteurs pour favoriser la concentration. Les sujets de cette recherche ont mentionné plutôt une disponibilité psychique interne comme stratégie pour favoriser l'apprentissage.

4- La confection de schémas de visualisation

Cette stratégie consiste à créer des schémas et des graphiques du contenu à apprendre afin de le rendre plus parlant et visuellement plus facile à comprendre et à assimiler. Elle semble faciliter l'appropriation par l'apprenant des contenus d'apprentissage en rendant ces derniers plus dynamiques, moins encombrés de détails déjà maîtrisés et en mettant l'emphase sur les aspects les plus importants. Cependant, Weinstein considère cette stratégie parmi les techniques d'étude au même titre que l'élaboration de résumés.

5- L'élaboration de résumés

Cette stratégie figure parmi les plus utilisées par les apprenants et les plus étudiées dans la littérature. Les stratégies de "réexamen de texte" ou relecture, et de résumé sont considérées comme les plus aptes à être enseignées (Garner, 1987). Cette auteure considère la stratégie de résumé comme une stratégie cognitive et métacognitive. Le résumé de texte permet non seulement de synthétiser l'information, mais aussi d'exercer le monitoring de la compréhension. Cette double utilisation du résumé explique probablement pourquoi les sujets ont souvent recours à cette stratégie.

6- La réorganisation et la restructuration

Cette stratégie peut s'appliquer aux notes de cours, aux lectures et à tout contenu. Il s'agit pour l'apprenant de transformer ou de réarranger le contenu d'apprentissage à sa façon pour lui donner sa propre structure afin de se l'approprier. Ces réarrangements peuvent rester intérieurs ou être explicites comme dans les schémas. Cette stratégie semble être, nécessaire pour qu'un apprentissage significatif puisse avoir lieu. Sans cette transformation, le contenu reste étranger à l'apprenant et peu significatif pour lui. Cette stratégie est l'une de celles qui permettent de caractériser les étudiants qui réussissent le mieux (Zimmerman et Martinez-Pons, 1988).

7- La recherche de la diversité des sources et des points de vue

Dans cette stratégie, le sujet recherche des informations ou connaissances différentes de celles qu'il possède déjà afin de les enrichir les diversifier. Les élèves étudiés par Zimmerman et Martinez-Pons rapportent une stratégie semblable, mais ces auteurs mettent l'accent davantage sur l'aspect quantitatif et ne mentionnent largement répandue parmi les sujets et elle est aussi la plus généralisée à travers les situations, les domaines et les contenus d'apprentissage. Elle diffère de la "demande d'aide" puisqu'elle est utilisée même en l'absence de difficultés. Cette différence est probablement due au fait que les adultes ont plus confiance en eux et se perçoivent davantage comme responsables de leur apprentissage.

9- La recherche d'une aide extérieure

Cette recherche de l'aide extérieure s'adresse à des individus considérés comme compétents mais peu menaçants. Elle est utilisée parce qu'elle revêt un caractère agréable et permet de gagner du temps. Cette demande d'aide n'implique pas que le contrôle est abandonné à l'expert mais simplement que ce dernier est utilisé comme ressource et c'est l'apprenant qui prend l'initiative. Pour cette raison, Zimmerman et Martinez-Pons (1988) la considèrent comme une stratégie autorégulée. Néanmoins, il est possible que cette stratégie soit un indice d'une faible autorégulation.

10- L'expérimentation ou les applications pratiques, dans la réalité

L'utilisation de cette stratégie dans le domaine académique peut paraître inattendue. Certains sujets ont affirmés expérimenter appliquer ce qu'ils essaient d'apprendre même lorsque les contenus en question étaient de nature théorique ou abstraite. Il est probable qu'elle soit liée à la première stratégie mentionnée soit l'établissement de liens entre le contenu d'apprentissage et un aspect extérieur.

11- L'imagerie

Cette stratégie, qui consiste à créer des images mentales vives sur les contenus ou concepts à apprendre semble donner des résultats satisfaisants surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de mémoriser des contenus abstraits (Dansereau 1978; Weinstein et Mayer, 1986). Elle pourrait faire partie des techniques mnémoniques, comme la paraphrase ou reformulation. Mais les sujets interviewés l'utilisent pour mieux intégrer leur apprentissage plutôt que mémoriser des informations isolées et factuelles.

Conclusion et pistes de recherche

Les résultats montrent la diversité et la richesse des stratégies utilisées spontanément par les adultes expérimentés. Néanmoins, ces résultats ne sont pas exhaustifs et d'autres stratégies demeurent à découvrir. L'enseignement des stratégies implique que l'apprenant reste autorégulé c'est-à-dire sélectionne et adapte les stratégies qui conviennent le mieux à son style personnel. Des études exhaustives des stratégies d'apprentissage utilisées par les adultes expérimentés permettraient de mieux comprendre le processus d'apprentissage de l'adulte est ses activités métacognitives.

Dans la société moderne, les adultes sont de plus en plus impliqués dans toutes sortes d'apprentissages rendus nécessaires pour leur adaptation et pour contrer l'obsolescence du savoir qu'ils ont acquis antérieurement, d'où l'intérêt d'étudier les stratégies d'apprentissage.

Cette recherche contribue à identifier et classer les stratégies d'apprentissage pour aider à dresser un répertoire, une sorte de carte géographique des stratégies selon différentes dimensions comme leur efficacité, leur fréquence, leur généralité ou leur spécificité. Une telle démarche est à notre avis prioritaire avant tout enseignement des stratégies d'apprentissage.

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THE MUSEUM AS POPULAR AND MUTUAL ENLIGHTENMENT: VANCOUVER'S MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, 1894-1916

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ABSTRACT: Competing interests shaped Vancouver's first museum and its governing association, effectively splitting education into private and public spheres, into lectures for a select audience and into the museum for the public.

RESUME: La compétition entre les intérêts différents a influencé le premier musée de Vancouver et son comité dirigeant. La conséquence était la séparation de l'éducation entre deux sphères, les réunions privées et le musée ouvert à tout le monde.

This paper examines the impulse, widespread among turn-of-the-century adults, to enlighten one another. For urban Canadians, museums, art galleries, public lectures, and exhibitions, all organized through voluntary associations, were an important means of expressing this impulse. Such institutions and programs aimed to educate association members and the general public in matters of the arts, science, history, and public affairs. Museums especially were established to satisfy their founders' curiosity and awe; to research and especially to re-organize and re-form knowledge; to teach aesthetic and useful knowledge; and to create, through the museum building and its contents, an enobling place for spiritual enlightenment.

Typical of this impulse, Vancouver's first museum and art gallery and its learned society, the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver (AHSA), were founded on April 17, 1894, just eight years after the city's birth. The members of the AHSA had come together to promote their own mutual education and, like missionaries, to proselytize the value of such learning amongst the general public of the city. To the AHSA's early promoters, Vancouver was a city vexed by problems of immigration and industrialization, racism, and fears of urban social disintegration. They saw themselves as "a devoted few" who strove to transmit, into Vancouver, the higher elements of British civilization and culture.(1)

From historical evidence, the study describes and explains the methods, meaning, and purpose of adult education through the AHSA and its museum and art gallery (hereafter, museum). I argue that the origin and development of the AHSA's museum was shaped by the strain of competing aims: between the private social and intellectual interests of the AHSA's members and the AHSA's public mission of civilizing the "toiling and struggling fellow citizens"(2) of Vancouver.

International Museum Movement

The AHSA's museum developed as one of many that sprang up throughout Europe and America, especially after the mid-19th century. These museums were part of a vast, popular museum movement that began in 18th-century Continental Europe, particularly Italy. Renaissance humanism, 18th-century Enlightenment, and nineteenth-century democracy all influenced the movement. By the early 19th century, the movement spread, first to France, and then to Britain and the United States.(3)

Museums emerged when curious and interested people sought to establish humankind's and their own positions within the grand scheme of things. Collectors eagerly scoured local and distant lands for examples of flora, fauna, geological, archaeological, and cultural artifacts, and for artistic and historical treasures. Many early museums were small, private, and often eccentric "cabinets of curiosity" or "closets of rarities." Others were large, educational and wonder-inspiring public museums. Important examples include the British Museum at London, the Ashmoleon (founded 1683) at Oxford, and the Smithsonian (founded 1846) at Washington, D.C. The American museum movement borrowed concerns about research and scholarship from Europe but placed new stress on the diffusion of knowledge. By the latter half of the 19th century, new American museums and art galleries, with distinctly educational aims, were springing up in almost all major cities.(4)

Between these two extremes, and exhibiting characteristics of both private and public museums, there developed a whole range of museum collections assembled by historical and scientific research societies. In Britain, the most notable was the Royal Society's research collection. In the United States, there were early notable collections assembled by the New York Academy of Natural Sciences (founded 1815) and the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia (founded 1812). Vancouver's AHSA museum began under such private scholarly auspices. However, like its American counterparts, its central purpose was to diffuse cultural and scientific knowledge and sensibilities among average working citizens.

The AHSA and its Museum

The AHSA and its museum began in a flourish of optimism and fanfare. Canada's Governor-General, the Earl of Aberdeen, attended the first public exhibition, in November 1894. The association's educational program was varied and multifaceted, and was designed to appeal citizens of all walks of life. It was singularly the brightest light on the city's cultural scene. By January 1895 the AHSA's president, Anglican social gospeller Reverend L. Norman Tucker, could boast that

> The Association has been an active and educating influence in the community. It has not only begun to collect treasures of art and remains of Indian life, and stamps and specimens of various kinds, but it has also begun to focus and to stimulate the artistic and intellectual life of our people. It has provided musical entertainments of a superior order, and has had the honor of introducing to the public some of the best musical talent of the City. It has discussed with

> surprising vigor and intelligence, some very important questions, notably the ancient life of our Province, and by its loan exhibition it has revealed to many the treasures of art that already exist in our midst, and what is better still, it has disclosed on the part of many, a taste for artistic and literary studies that only needs cultivation to produce the most gratifying results.(5)

Cultivation meant teaching and learning through the popular educational methods of the day: lectures, conversaziones, excursions, classes, reading, and, of course, attending the museum and gallery and any exhibitions. The first two, lectures and conversaziones, quickly became the AHSA's primary methods of extending its aims inwards, towards the registered membership and to appeal to the city's more educated and socially prominent citizens. Members and the interested public could partake of colourful lectures, delivered by local and visiting scholars, and followed by occasionally lively discussion. Or, they could be entertained at musical conversaziones and promenade concerts, topped off by genial conversation and refreshments. Such talks and concerts were to appeal to the members' higher instincts and to develop their higher powers.

The museum and art gallery, from the beginning, was a major component of the AHSA's work. It complemented the AHSA's program of lectures and served as the association's vehicle for public enlightenment. The museum's central purpose, as throughout Europe and America, was to diffuse cultural and scientific knowledge among average working citizens. According to the AHSA's 1912 museum guide and catalogue, a museum stimulates the

> culture, education and enlightenment of the people. . . . It is a necessity of every highly civilized community . . . to give recreation and happiness to great masses of the people . . . [T]hey remain to think and study and from such casual visits carry away a desire and intention to further investigate and receive educational benefits from.(6)

The AHSA understood that their museum should appeal directly to people's curiosity and imagination; a well-founded understanding that showed in the 41,350 visits recorded in 1913.(7) Vancouver's population at that time was only about 120,000.

Will Ferris, the museum's curator, aptly described the collection as cosmopolitan. Collected since the early 1890s, Ferris and his AHSA colleagues had secured modest exhibits of native work and curios from such places as Ecuador, Peru, the Malay States, and New Zealand. The AHSA had wanted to avoid duplicating the British Columbia Provincial Museum's (in Victoria) emphasis on British Columbia ethnology and natural history. The Vancouver museum's donors included several of the AHSA's honorary vice-presidents and many of its registered members. Some were world travellers (a popular pastime amongst the well-to-do) and others were merchant sea captains who had returned with artifacts.

The choice of a more exotic collection, Ferris had argued, lay in its "appeal to everyone[,] not only as curios but [also as] . . . educat[ional] examples."(8) He apparently recognized, as had others before him, that most working-class and lower middle-class people simply did not respond well to traditional public educational lectures. The AHSA thus developed, organized, and catalogued their museum in hopes that visitors would further increase their knowledge. It was hoped that the visitors might gaze upon the exhibits, think about what they were observing, and share with each other those thoughts and observations. The contents were to educate the viewers, by example, about beauty, nature, and functional utility. The exhibits included fine and applied art (from both industrial civilizations and primitive cultures); geological, botanical, entomological, zoological, and conchological (seashell) samples; and local and British historical and literary exhibits.

Alongside its role of disseminating useful knowledge to the general public, the museum served the AHSA's desire to develop and maintain informal, and sometimes formal, relations between itself and several independent mutual enlightenment associations. For example, AHSA members lectured to YMCA and YWCA members in 1903. Other members were instrumental in organizing other associations, for example the Arts and Crafts Association, in 1900. And, at the organizational level, the AHSA amalgamated with the Vancouver Photographic Society in 1905. The AHSA provided the Photographic Club with darkroom facilities and "space for scientific purposes" in the museum's basement.(9) A failed attempt was also made in 1905 to attract the B.C. Entomological Association into amalgamation. In 1916, the AHSA joined with eight other associations and the just founded University of British Columbia to form the still-running Vancouver Institute, a public lecture series.

These relationships were useful to the AHSA. The other societies both used and could advance the value of the museum, and correspondingly, of the AHSA. While such relationships did not always succeed, a major part of the AHSA's missionary zeal was to foster and develop its hegemony over Vancouver's intellectual and cultural affairs. AHSA promoters saw themselves and their association as a civic clerisy, a literati with a social mission in Vancover to refine and to civilize.(10)

Notwithstanding the apparent success of the museum and the AHSA, life for them seemed an almost constant struggle. In a young frontier city such as Vancouver there were few potential benefactors to draw on. There were no supportive aristocrats as found in British towns and cities. There were none like the old family Brahmins of Boston, who served as cultural overlords and who created magnificent cultural and educational institutions to enrich the fabric of that old and distinguished city. There were no great industrial philanthropists like Andrew Carnegie. Vancouver's newly rich were too insecure in their recent acquisitions to donate generously to a museum or art gallery, let alone build one. Even when in 1898 the AHSA's board of directors approached City Council for a small grant ($100) to aid the museum they had to fit their application within the city's campaign to attract business and prospective immigrants, to argue that the museum would be good for tourism.

The AHSA's struggle for adequate, sustaining financial support was finally, though not completely, resolved in 1903.

After much lobbying, the AHSA succeeded in having the City of Vancouver assume responsibility for building and maintaining a public museum. In return, the AHSA agreed to donate its collection. The AHSA retained responsibility for the museum's management. The new public museum was completed in 1905 and occupied the top floor of the newly completed Carnegie Library. Lobbying for funds, however, would continue to command the AHSA's attention, especially in the face of city council's own preoccupation with commercial development and promotion.

Competing Interests

Competing interests shaped the origin and development of Vancouver's first museum and art gallery. From its inception, AHSA promoters, including Reverend Tucker, presented their association as a clerisy. As such AHSA members learned and shared in an enobling educational experience. They gained practice in their civic role as a cultural and intellectual leadership. Around this clerisy other citizens and residents could gain access to their own enlightenment.

A clerisy, however, is to be classless. Anyone could belong, so long as they embodied the humanitarian, cultivated characteristics identified with a clerisy, and so long as they used their abilities and their experiences for the benefit of all mankind. Reverend Tucker, for example, advised that the AHSA should work to a shared enlightenment for the benefit of all of Vancouver's residents. For Tucker the lectures were to be accessible to and attended by anyone, from any social or ethnic position. This did not happen. The museum and lecture programs were quite effectively kept as slightly overlapping but separate educational entities. The AHSA's membership drew mainly a cozy collection of professional educators, clergymen, lawyers, physicians, artists and the like, the wives of prominent businessmen, and, until 1903, Japanese diplomats and a clergyman.

The interest of Vancouver's elite in contributing to such an institution was ambiguous. Some were sympathetic to the needs and well-being of the great masses. Of these, some hoped to contribute to their recreation and improvement, or to stem the tide of the worst aspects of industrialism. Others, perhaps subconsciously, aimed to provide an opiate to those who might otherwise threaten the elite's social, financial, and political well-being. If not becalmed and amused, in a period of highly conspicuous wealth alongside abject poverty, the masses might rise up and overturn the prevailing social order, as they had tried in the past. This period, before the Great War, was for British Columbia, as with much of the Western World, an economic and social crucible for socialists and the labour movement. Yet others from among the money elite simply might have desired public accolade for their generosity. Through donation, they could mark their financial or professional success. At the same time, their action could serve as their rejection of the myth that capitalist enterprise breeds philistinism.

In the end, the formation of the AHSA and museum was a marriage of European, especially British, intellectual and aesthetic ideals with western Canadian economic and social necessities and desires. The AHSA's methods would be educational and, for its members, mutual. Matthew Arnold's ideas of an egalitarian and broadly public enlightenment(11) were the mainstay of AHSA curricula--but only to a point. Ultimately, the members betrayed the full moral intent of Arnold's national culture. They were unable to fully transcend their own interests and prejudices. They created a hierarchical and bi-focal program--a generally exclusive association for themselves, and a public museum and art gallery for the masses.

1. R. Waller, Acting Secretary, to Colonel A. Leetham, United Services Institute, Whitehall, London, 27 December 1910, in Letterbook, Art, Historical and Scientific Association (AHSA), Add. Mss. 336, Vancouver City Archives (VCA).

2. Minutes (newspaper clipping), 8 January, 1895, AHSA, Add. Mss. 336, VCA.

3. J. Mordaunt Crook, The British Museum (Allen Lane, Penguin, 1972), pp. 32-39; Michael Hunter, "The Cabinet Institutionalized: The Royal Society's 'Repository' and its Background," in The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe, eds. Oliver Impy and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 159-68; and 1-4; Oliver Impy and Arthur MacGregor, "Introduction," in The Origins of Museums, pp. 1-4.

4. Ibid.; Malcolm S. Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), pp. 20-21.

5. AHSA Minutes (newspaper clipping), 8 January 1895.

6. AHSA, circa 1911-12, vol. 22, file 161, VCA.

7. AHSA Minutes, 21 January 1914.

8. AHSA Letterbook, Will Ferris to John Davidson, 2 August 1913.

9. AHSA Minutes, 26 March 1903, 26 January 1905.

10. A. Ian Hunt, "A Clerisy for Mutual and Popular Enlightenment in Vancouver: The Art, Historical and Scientific Association, 1909" in Proceedings of the 6th Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, eds. Marie Gillen and Avon Burkholder (Antigonish, NS: St. Francis Xavier University, 1987), pp. 147-65.

11. Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism, 3rd ed (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1882).

ADULT DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE SPECTRUM OF CONSCIOUSNESS

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Abstract

Research and theory of adult development will be re-viewed through the "spectrum of consciousness," in order to explore the potential of this novel framework for organizing research in adult development.

On passera la recherche et la théorie du développement de l'adulte en revue par le moyen de "la perspective spectrale," afin d'examiner le potentiel de cette approche originale d'organiser la recherche dans le domaine du développement de l'adulte.

While the past several decades have seen research in adult development move to further refinement, questions and debate concerning the course of adult development persist. Does development proceed as an age-defined horizontal progression with predictable turning points, or is it a continuous vertical growth from simple to more complex? Is development a process of psychological decline or is it a process of continuing psychological unfolding? Does development happen through adaptation or transformation? The prevailing theories that currently address these concerns appear to fall along a continuum that is represented by maturational factors at one end and societal factors at the other. Along this continuum each theory is seen to be more salient than the others in explaining adult development. Still, there is the persistent and nagging concern regarding the inconsistencies and contradictions among the findings, a situation that has prompted Smelser (1980), to conclude, "it is impossible to imagine how all of these formulations, contrasting as they are, could be correct" (p.21). However, one might spectulate the following - is it possible that the inconsistencies and indeed contradictions indicate not that one position is correct and another incorrect, rather that each may be correct, but at a different level of consciousness?

A novel framework for conceptualizing current research in adult development findings may be contained in a developmental model - "the spectrum of consciousness" (Wilber 1977). The spectrum of consciousness is a metaphorical representation of the range of human consciousness or individual self-identity. This spectrum is depicted as a rainbow in which the various levels of consciousness correspond to the many bands of the rainbow. Wilber (1977) identifies six major bands: a) the Persona Level (which includes only some facets of the ego, primarily the ego "mind"); b) the Ego Level (which comprises our picture of our self and our roles); c) the Biosocial Level (which comprises the basic biological and sociological information that the individual has accumulated); d) the Existential Level (which involves our total organism, and what we feel "beneath" our self-image); e) the Transpersonal Level (where processes occurring go beyond the skin-boundary of the

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individual); and f) Unity Consciousness or mystical consciousness (where an individual's entity is one with the universe). (It should be clarified that on the spectrum model Wilber depicts Unity Consciousness on the "lower" level or base of the rainbow, while in terms of complexity and quality, it is actually the "higher" level.)

According to Wilber, evolution of the individual and indeed of humankind moves from the lower-order structure (Persona Level) to each successively higher-order until there is only Unity. Each level has characteristics and capacities not found in the lower levels. Each stage arises through the lower level, *includes* the lower stage and *transcends* it by adding other attributes. So, where the Ego level includes the mind, the Existential Level includes both the mind and the body, and Unity Consciousness includes mind, body and the whole of the universe. According to Wilber (1982), each level of consciousness represents a different structure of knowledge or way of knowing about the self and the environment. Wilber identifies three modes or ways of knowing: empiric, phenomenological, and mandalic. Each represents different approaches to different levels of reality; and each way of knowing suggests a correlative methodology.

The remainder of the paper will re-view selected adult development research, this time through the spectrum of consciousness. I will attempt to show how the various researches "plug in" to a different level of the spectrum of consciousness. The review will begin with the Ego Level, and bypass the Persona Level and Unity Consciousness, since little of what is included in adult development research addresses either of these levels of consciousness.

The Ego Level

The Ego Level is that band of consciousness that includes the potential of the individual toward intellectual capability, character stability and civility. A central characteristic of the Ego Level is its analytical and discriminatory aspect - its intellect or "mind," in which the empiric, conceptual mode of knowing dominates. Accordingly, says Wilber (1982), "The mind creates a theory-map of the objective biomaterial world, looks carefully at that world, usually by altering that world in controlled ways, and then fits the map to it" (p. 267). Correspondingly, research at the Ego Level draws on longitudinal, cross-sectional, quantitative designs that include use of tasks, adjective ratings, personality tests and observations by impartial trained observers.

The Ego Level contains the major theories of adult development. It is best represented by cognitive and psychodynamic theories, and includes those theories described as "stage" theories. Foremost among the stage theorists is Lawrence Kohlberg. Kolhberg (1969) extended Piaget's earlier work on stages with children to include stages of adulthood. He identified six stages of moral development: fearful-dependent, opportunistic, conforming to persons, conforming to rule, legalistic, and principled autonomous. Loevinger (1976) studied stages of ego development. She identified the following stages or "milestones of ego development:" Impulsive, Self-Protective, Conformist, and Autonomous. According to both theorists, development proceeeds through the various stages toward each more complex, differentiated stage.

Current research at the Ego Level emphasizes the presence or persistence of certain qualities of the ego, such as character stability and goal orientation. For instance, in a longitudinal study (Haan, Milsap, & Hartka, (1986), professionals made observations and judgments of the same people over a 50 year span. The observations were organized around six clusters that are most closely related to ego functioning: self-confident/victimized; assertive/submissive; cognitively committed; outgoing/aloof; dependable; and warm/hostile. It is noteworthy that most of the studies at the Ego Level focus primarily on ego functioning. Moreover, many of them appear to assume stability of the ego to be associated with mental health.

The Biosocial Level

The Biosocial Level includes those biological, but mostly sociological factors that have been transferred from society to the individual and that now act to shape and mold the self. These factors - cultural ideologies, beliefs, myths and language - while for the most part unconscious, not only determine how the individual acts towards the environment, but also how the individual actually perceives that environment. In short, the Biosocial Level represents the "internalized society." The Biosocial Level is best represented by the psychosocial theories of Erikson and Fromm, and contains the second major stream of adult development research - phase theory - which views life as a series of phases, seasons, passages, eras, contours, or turning points. The phases are suggestive of qualitative changes in response to age changes as well as changing social expectations. The various phases and eras passed through are influenced by both internal biological and psychological factors as well as social and external factors. Different theories - biological, psychological, or sociological will give different weight to the "biological clock," or the "psychological clock," or the "social clock," respectively.

Among the theorists who address the Biosocial Level is Erik Erikson, who constructed a psychosocial theory of development over the entire life cycle. Erikson (1968) identified eight steps or stages of individual development through the life cycle; the last stages - Intimacy vs. Isolation (age 20-40), Generativity vs. Stagnation (age 40-65), and Integrity vs. Despair (age 60+) occur during adulthood. Each stage of development, shaped by both biological and social factors, presents the individual with a point of turbulence and a struggle between two opposite tendencies, which the individual must resolve. The extent to which a stage is successfully resolved will moderate the way the individual resolves the next stage. Levinson's (1978) theory also may be seen to address the Biosocial Level. Levinson applied the term "life cycle" to convey the process of a journey, from birth to death, following a universal pattern, reflecting cultural and individual variations.

Another approach to adult development that focuses on biological and sociological factors characteristic of the Biosocial Level is the adaptive perspective. It differs from the "stage" and "phase" perspectives in that it does not focus on the problem of sequence and order in adult life; rather it deals with single life events, marker events, or milestone, such as marriage, widowhood, divorce. Each of these events is thought to be experienced differently, depending upon the stage of life at which each occurs. Personality-oriented psychologists tend to emphasize the importance of personality factors in adaptation to life events, while social psychologists and sociologists will emphasize external environmental factors. Recent emphasis has been on applying a stress model that views stress as an interactive experience (Chiriboga, 1989). The model includes three components: the stressor, the mediators, and the response. It illustrates the recognition of the dynamic interaction between and among the various components of an individual's life.

The Existential Level

The Existential Level comprises an individual's basic sense of existence or of being. It involves an expansion of identity from that of the Ego Level to include the total organism, i.e., the body and the psyche. Wilber (1977) distinguishes the Ego and Existential levels in the following way, "a major difference between ego and existential approaches is between *accurately representing* the total organism and *actually being* the total organism, and although to the Ego it might sound trivial, that difference is vast indeed (p.253). At the Existential Level, the mode of knowing moves toward the phemenonogical (Wilber, 1982).

Among theorists at this Level, Kegan (1982) presents a neo-Piagetian approach that extends the boundaries of its attention beyond the Ego Level to include the Existential Level. Kegan indicates that he draws on both psychodynamic and existential psychologies in furthering a third tradition - the "constructive-developmental." "Constructive" suggests that the individual makes sense, constructs the meaning of experiences and events, and "developmental" suggests that this process of meaning-making evolves through periods of stability, change, and loss of balance. Because Kegan emphasizes meaning-making - the importance of how the individual organizes what happens - his research has implications for the study of life events, such as widowhood, job demotion or illness; he explores these from the point of view of the individual whose "self" is undergoing the change.

The Transpersonal Level

The Transpersonal Level draws attention to processes occurring in the individual that go beyond the individual, i.e., beyond the skin boundary. The transpersonal view permits the individual to "look at" his or her fears, anxieties and depressions. At this level the individual's identity is no longer exclusively tied to personal problems, nor to a separate self, but extends beyond his or her separate being (as was affirmed in the Existential Level), and shifts to a universal perspective - a transcendent, transpersonal view. In transpersonal experiences, however, the person's identity does not quite expand to the Whole, as in the next level of Unity Consciousness. The way of knowing includes the phenomenological and begins to include the mandalic (Wilber, 1982).

The psychology most strongly associated with the Transpersonal Level is Jung's analytical psychology. Jung (1954) viewed the human psyche as a self-organizing system that progressively evolves from a less complete stage of development to a more complete one. The center of the personality is the self, which becomes increasingly accessible as the personality differentiates itself from the personal unconscious as well as from the collective mass, and then integrates these toward a rounding out and a balancing of the personality. He described this process as "individuation" - the coming to selfhood, self-realization, selfactualization. Jung viewed an individual's personality as a resultant of inner forces, conscious and unconscious, acting upon and being acted upon by outer forces. The resulting tension of opposites of conscious and unconscious, of internal and environmental forces, would be experienced as "death" and "rebirth," as struggle and as suffering: these provide the momentum for development in the second half of life (Jacobi, 1967).

Jung, a clinically oriented psychiatrist, based his theories upon word association tests, dream analysis, and active imagination. He did not set out to test or prove a scientific hypothesis; his theory was based on his own experiences and that of his patients. Jung (1966) questioned the usefulness of the experimental method for a practical psychology. In his view, "A psychology that satisfies the intellect alone can never be practical, for the totality of the psyche can never be grasped by intellect alone" (p.119).

Some important observations arise from this review:

a) The Transpersonal Level theories are more disposed than the Ego Level theories to stating a goal for human development. Jung defined individuation as the goal of development, while Kegan (1982), (Existential Level) stops short of suggesting that higher levels are the goals of development, leaving that issue to philosophy.

(b) Transpersonal Level theories focus on the processes by which individuals move from one stage to another. Movement, process, and change, and with these, suffering and confrontation with oneself, are expected, along with periods of stability and equilibrium. In contrast, studies at the Ego Level generally focus on the structures or levels of development at which individuals are functioning.

(c) In the area of research methodology, at the Transpersonal Level concern is with understanding the totality of the psyche. At the Ego Level there is greater emphasis on quantifying data, and controlling and predicting the influence that certain variables have on other variables.

d) Finally, as the research approaches move through the various levels of the Spectrum of Consciousness, it becomes evident that at each progressive level the object of study is more inclusive. For example, at the Ego Level, only certain conscious facets of the ego are studied, while at the Existential Level, the total organism is included. In other words, what was *context* at the Ego Level becomes *content* at the Existential Level (Wilber, 1977).

Following from the above, it can be concluded that the various theories will generate correspondingly different implications for research. Within each level, investigators will frame their research questions and choose methods and instruments that correspond to the assumptions and ways of knowing of that level. With respect to the findings, therefore, what may be novel for one researcher, may be obvious to another; what may be significant to one, may seem trivial or irrelevant to another. And finally, what may appear to be inconsistent or contradictory may be simply the fact that respective researchers are "plugging into" a different "band" of the rainbow and working within a different level of consciousness.

The major implication of this paper is that Wilber's "spectrum of consciousness" offers a promising framework for reviewing the various theories of adult development currently in the literature. Adult educators may find it useful in framing the existing research (and their own) in a way that distinguishes the various levels of understanding and knowing that are embodied in each. It may help researchers to develop greater consistency and integration between their research questions, their theoretical frameworks, their methodologies, and their findings. Finally, it may help them to appreciate both the significance and the limitations of the research, given its respective position on the spectrum. The model promises to even have broader application to the field. It may prove to be a useful framework for investigating theories in our foundations disciplines, allowing us to assess their selective and appropriate use within the various "bands" of the field of adult education.

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L'ADULTE AU MUSÉE ET SES SOUVENIRS

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Nous nous intéressons depuis quelques années à l'évolution des souvenirs par des adultes durant une visite au musée.

La plupart des travaux sur le rappel ont été réalisés en laboratoire et visent la rétention d'informations ou d'habilités qui viennent d'être acquises. Ces travaux sont de peu d'intérêt pour nous. Par contre, certaines recherches portant sur le processus de rappel, sur des déclencheurs, sur les phénomènes concomitants au souvenir et sur les conditions favorisant leur apparition sont pertinents à la situation muséale. En voici le résumé:

- Le fait de se remémorer est un processus actif (Brandford et al., dans Craik, 1979).
- Les souvenirs sont suscités par des déclencheurs (Loftus, 1983, Craik, 1979).
- Les déclencheurs sont l'éveil de sentiments, d'états émotifs (Clark, dans Leventhal, 1986), d'humeurs et d'états optimistes ou pessimistes (Isen et al., 1979, Teasdale et Fagarty, dans Leventhal, 1986).
- Les phénomènes concurrents sont habituellement des sentiments et des humeurs.
- Les conditions qui favorisent le rappel sont: une attention soutenue (Melton, 1935, Robinson 1928, dans Barnard et al., 1980, Alt et Griggs, 1984), un contexte qui permet de reconnaître un objet ou sa signification (Thomson, 1972, dans Barnard et al., 1980) et des connaissances dans le domaine de ce dont on peut ou doit se rappeler (Loftus et Loftus, 1974).

Bien que pertinente, cette information n'a pu être utilisée parce qu'avant de nous interroger sur le processus de rappel ou ses conditions, il fallait identifier les souvenirs eux-mêmes, leur fréquence, les types qui apparaissent dans la situation muséale et leur relation avec les objets muséaux observés. C'est sur ces points que porte notre texte. Plus précisément, nous présenterons des données sur les aspects suivants des souvenirs: leur genre, leurs rapports avec les objets exposés et leurs types. Enfin, nous comparerons trois groupes de visiteurs adultes ayant un niveau de formation différent sur chacun de ces points.

Description de la recherche

Nous avons conduit notre recherche dans un musée de sciences naturelles, le Musée Georges-Préfontaine de l'Université de Montréal, auprès de 45 hommes et femmes de la région montréalaise. Ces adultes avaient de 25 à 65 ans et

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trois niveaux de formation différents: des études secondaires ou moins, des études collégiales ou universitaires et une spécialisation en biologie ou en sciences naturelles. Ces personnes ont visité une exposition de mollusques. Chacun des spécimens était présenté individuellement dans des vitrines tendues de tissu bleu marine et identifié par une cartelette blanche où l'on pouvait lire son nom scientifique, son nom commun et sa provenance. Nous avons demandé à ces visiteurs de nous décrire aussi fidèlement que possible leur expérience au fur et à mesure de leur visite. Nous les avons accompagnés durant toute leur visite et avons enregistré leurs propos sur bande magnétique. Nous avons ensuite dactylographié ces propos et c'est sous cette forme que nous en avons fait l'analyse.

Présentation des résultats; aspect descriptif

Nombre de souvenirs des visiteurs

La majorité des 45 visiteurs, soit 35 ou 77,8%, relatent 78 souvenirs durant leur visite. Ainsi 15 visiteurs ou 42,9% se rappellent d'un seul; 11 visiteurs ou 31,4% se rappellent de deux, et 9 visiteurs ou 25,7% se rappellent de plus de deux. Il semble donc exceptionnel de ne pas avoir de souvenir et le cas le plus fréquent est d'en avoir un.

L'analyse du contenu des souvenirs évoqués était de peu d'intérêt parce que ces souvenirs étaient tous de même type: coquillages vus en vacances, voyages, plages, ramassage de coquillages, scènes de l'enfance et situations de cours. C'est ce qui nous a amenée à les analyser en termes de genre, de rapport avec les coquillages exposés et de type de souvenirs.

Genre de souvenirs

Deux types de souvenirs sont ressortis à l'analyse: des souvenirs généraux et des souvenirs précis.

Les souvenirs généraux se présentent sous forme d'esquisse d'une situation:

> "Ah ça j'ai déjà vu ça!"

Les souvenirs précis contiennent les détails singuliers de l'expérience:

> "Ah! le couteau, ça on l'a vu dans le cours des invertébrés".

Parmi les 78 souvenirs évoqués, 20 ou 25,6% ne se rapportent qu'à des souvenirs généraux; 9 ou 11,6% ne se rapportent qu'à des souvenirs précis et 49 ou 62,8% se rapportent à des souvenirs généraux et des souvenirs précis. Le cas le plus commun est donc le rappel de souvenirs généraux et de souvenirs précis.

Rapport avec les objets exposés

Nous avons identifié cinq rapports avec les objets muséaux: 1. le souvenir contient des objets comme ceux qui sont exposés, 2. il fournit un décor à ces objets, 3. il leur fournit un véritable contexte, 4. il leur ajoute des caractéristiques non observables au musée et 5. il décrit un événement lié à des lieux où l'on observe ces objets en dehors du musée.

1. Le souvenir évoque un ou des objets vus, mais dans une autre situation que la situation muséale. Le visiteur ne fait que replacer l'objet qu'il

vient d'observer dans une situation déjà vécue:

> "la patte de lion, ben oui, c'est le symbole de Shell".

2. Le souvenir constitue un décor, une situation très générale dans laquelle les objets vus se retrouvent habituellement:

   > "moi quand je vais sur le bord de la ... quand j'ai été sur le bord de la mer là j'en choisissais".

3. Le souvenir offre un véritable contexte aux objets vus. Il décrit l'environnement où l'on peut trouver ces objets:

   > "Oh Caroline du sud, ben oui, y en a des tout petits là t'sais les tout petits qui rentrent dans l'eau".

4. Les souvenirs ajoutent des caractéristiques ou des éléments aux objets vus, lesquels n'étaient pas présents dans la situation muséale. On a l'impression qu'ils les complètent:

   > "quelqu'un qui a fait un petit peu de grec ou de latin va savoir que ça marche sur un pied et qu'il n'a pas l'estomac dans les talons".

5. Le souvenir décrit un événement. Cet événement se situe dans le décor habituel de l'objet et ce décor est le seul lien que le souvenir entretient avec l'objet observé pendant la visite:

   > "Couteau de l'Atlantique, j'essaie tout le temps d'en trouver quand je vais à voile sur le bord de la mer".

Parmi les 78 souvenirs évoqués, 53 ou 68% se rapportent à l'objet, 5 ou 6,4% au décor, 7 ou 9% au contexte, 5 ou 6,4% aux caractéristiques, et 8 ou 10,2% à un événement. Les souvenirs les plus fréquents sont donc l'évocation d'objets semblables ou identiques à ceux que le visiteur observe dans le musée.

Type de souvenirs

En combinant les deux catégories d'analyse précédentes, on obtient trois types de souvenirs.

1. Simple réminiscence de ce que l'on vient de voir:

   > "le strombe quand j'étais petit chez une de mes tantes, elle avait sa grosse strombe là, t'sais sur un piedestal là quasiment".

2. Addition d'éléments globaux qui n'ont qu'un lien général avec ce que l'on vient de voir, décor et événement:

   > "ma belle-mère m'en ramène de Floride, elle les ramasse sur le bord de la mer. Elle m'en ramène d'toutes les grosseurs et de toutes les couleurs ça pas d'bon sens mais c'est ça, je trouve ça beau".

3. Addition d'éléments précis, ces éléments pouvant se rattacher directement à l'objet vu ou lui servir de contexte:

   > "elle bon on la voit en Gaspésie. J'ai l'impression on la trouve sur le bord de l'eau en Gaspésie... c'est ça que j'ai déjà vu ça, c'est très spécial comme façon d'être construit avec les pics".

Parmi les 78 souvenirs évoqués, 53 ou 68% constituent une simple réminiscence, 12 ou 15,4% sont une addition d'éléments globaux et 13 ou 16,6% ajoutent une précision à l'objet exposé. Les souvenirs les plus fréquents sont donc ceux qui constituent une simple réminiscence.

Présentation des résultats: aspect comparatif

La comparaison des visiteurs selon leur niveau de formation donne les résultats suivants:

Absence de souvenirs

Nous avons identifié que parmi les 45 visiteurs, 10 n'ont pas évoqué de souvenirs. Ainsi 6 ou 60% se retrouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 2 ou 20% se retrouvent dans le groupe qui a fait des études collégiales ou universitaires, et 2 ou 20% dans le groupe qui a fait des études en biologie. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 3.23, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. *

Nombre de souvenirs des visiteurs

Parmi les 35 autres visiteurs, il y en a 9 qui ont plus de deux souvenirs. Ainsi 3 ou 33,3% se retrouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 2 ou 22,2% dans le groupe qui a une formation collégiale-universitaire, et 4 ou 44,4% dans le groupe qui a une formation de biologie. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne .66, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. *

Genre de souvenirs

Parmi les 78 souvenirs évoqués, 20 sont reliés à des souvenirs généraux, 9 à des souvenirs précis et 49 à des souvenirs généraux et précis, (voir tableau). Les souvenirs selon les trois groupes de visiteurs se répartissent comme suit:

Souvenirs généraux seulement: sur 20 souvenirs, 10 ou 50% se trouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 6 ou 30% dans le groupe qui a une formation collégiale-universitaire, et 4 ou 20% dans le groupe qui a une formation en sciences naturelles ou biologie. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 2.79, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. *
Souvenirs précis seulement: sur les 9 souvenirs, 1 ou 11,2% se retrouve dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 4 ou 44,4% dans le groupe de formation collégiale-universitaire, et 4 ou 44,4% dans le groupe de biologie. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 1.99, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. * Souvenirs généraux et précis: sur 49 souvenirs, 11 ou 22,4% se retrouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 15 ou 30,6% dans le groupe de formation collégiale-universitaire, et 23 ou 47% dans le groupe qui a une formation en sciences naturelles. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 4.59, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. *

Rapport avec les objets exposés

Nous avons vu que parmi les 78 souvenirs évoqués, 53 se rapportent à l'objet, 5 au décor, 7 au contexte, 5 aux caractéristiques et 8 à l'événement, (voir tableau). Les souvenirs selon les trois groupes de visiteurs se répartissent comme suit: L'objet: sur 53 souvenirs, 13 ou 24,5% se trouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 18 ou 34% dans le groupe qui a une formation collégiale-universitaire, et 22 ou 41,5% dans le groupe en sciences naturelles. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 2.31, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. * Le décor: sur 5 souvenirs, 3 ou 60% se retrouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, et 2 se retrouvent également dans les deux autres groupes, ce qui donne 20% à chacun des groupes. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 1.66, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. * Le contexte: sur 7 souvenirs, 1 ou 14,2% se trouve dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire et 6 se trouvent également dans les deux autres groupes, ce qui donne 42,9% dans chacun des groupes. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 3.13, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. * Les caractéristiques: sur 5 souvenirs, 1 ou 20% se retrouve dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 1 ou 20% dans le groupe collégial-universitaire, et 3 ou 60% dans le groupe qui a une formation en sciences naturelles. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 1.57, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. * L'événement: sur 8 souvenirs, 4 ou 50% se retrouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, et 4 se retrouvent également dans chacun des deux autres groupes, ce qui donne 25% à chacun des groupes. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 1.15, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. *

Type de souvenirs

Nous avons vu que parmi les 53 souvenirs qui constituent une simple réminiscence, 13 ou 24,5% se trouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 16 ou 30,2% se trouve dans le groupe collégial-universitaire, et 24 ou 45,3% se trouvent dans le groupe de biologie. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 3.66, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. * Addition d'éléments globaux: 12 souvenirs se répartissent comme suit: 8 ou 66,7% se trouvent dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 3 ou 25% se trouvent dans le groupe collégial-universitaire, et 1 ou 8,3% se trouve dans le groupe de biologie. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 4.30, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. * Addition d'éléments précis: 13 souvenirs se répartissent comme suit: 1 ou 8% se trouve dans le groupe qui n'a qu'une formation secondaire, 6 ou 46% dans le groupe de formation collégiale-universitaire, et 6 ou 46% dans le groupe de biologie. Le χ^2 calculé sur ces proportions donne 3.83, ce qui n'est pas significatif au niveau de .05. *

Sommaire

La majorité des visiteurs évoquent des souvenirs. Le cas le plus fréquent est d'en avoir un, d'avoir et des souvenirs généraux et des souvenirs précis. En ce qui concerne le rapport que le visiteur entretient avec les objets exposés, l'évocation des objets observés est de beaucoup ce qui est le plus fréquent, de même que le fait d'évoquer de simples réminiscences à propos des objets.

Lorsque l'on compare les souvenirs produits par les trois groupes, on n'observe aucune différence importante. Cette absence de différence va à l'encontre d'idées issues des travaux de Bourdieu (1969), qui veut que des visiteurs de niveaux de formation variés réagissent différemment aux objets qu'ils observent dans les musées.

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Répartition des visiteurs selon leur production de souvenirs et leur formation

Production des souvenirs			Formation des visiteurs						
			Secondaire		Coll-uni.		Sc.nat.-Bio		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Absence	10	22,0	6	60,0	2	20,0	2	20,0	3.23
Genre									
généraux	20	25,6	10	50,0	6	30,0	4	20,0	2.79
précis	9	11,6	1	11,2	4	44,4	4	44,4	1.99
gén./précis	49	62,8	11	22,4	15	30,6	23	47,0	4.59
Total	**78**	**100**	**22**		**25**		**31**		
Rapport									
objet	53	68,0	13	24,5	18	34,0	22	41,5	2.31
décor	5	6,4	3	60,0	1	20,0	1	20,0	1.66
contexte	7	9,0	1	14,2	3	42,9	3	42,9	3.13
caract.	5	6,4	1	20,0	1	20,0	3	60,0	1.57
événement	8	10,2	4	50,0	2	25,0	2	25,0	1.15
Total	**78**	**100**	**22**		**25**		**31**		
Type									
réminis.	53	68,0	13	24,5	16	30,2	24	45,3	3.66
global	12	15,4	8	66,7	3	25,0	1	8,3	4.30
précis	13	16,6	1	8,0	6	46,0	6	46,0	3.83
Total	**78**	**100**	**22**		**25**		**31**		

* Pour 2 degrés de liberté la valeur doit être de 5.99 ou plus pour être significative à .05.

Integrating Computer-Based Instruction and Computer-Conferencing for Distance Delivery

A.C. Lauzon and G.A.B Moore

Abstract: This paper will describe a model for integrating computer-based instruction and computer-conferencing for distance delivery. The model presented delineates the pedagogical functions for each of these technologies. This is followed by an evaluation of its application.

It has been argued that recent advances in computer and communication technologies are facilitating a shift in distance education, moving it from a system that is based upon the principles of mass production toward an educational system that is capable of accommodating a variety of learning needs and styles (Lauzon and Moore, 1989). It can be further argued that the real impact of these technologies will be felt when we learn to integrate these technologies into a cohesive and coherent delivery system that facilitates effective learning. Yet often there are ideological and conceptual barriers which prevent educators from taking more integrative approaches in the application of these technologies for distance delivery. For example, this is characterized by Bates (1986) insistence that implicit within the technologies of computer-based instruction (CBI) and computer-conferencing (CC) are different, antithetical educational philosophies. Hence the integration of these two technologies into a delivery system is not possible, at least from a philosophical perspective, as the assumptions made about learners, learning and education according to each perspective are different.

This paper proposes to provide a model that lays the conceptual foundation for successfully integrating computer-based instruction with computer-conferencing for distance delivery. The model is based upon Bloom's (1956) concept of educational complexity and Kowitz and Smith's (1987) concept of instructional form. Following the model's description we will describe a pilot project which used the model to direct instructional design activities and the evaluation findings of the pilot project.

Integrating Computer-Based Instruction and Computer-Conferencing

As stated earlier, Bates (1986) has argued CBI and CC are often thought of as being mutually exclusive, as being based upon different philosophies and different theories of human nature and learning. Yet it is our belief that philosophical assumptions are not implicit within the technology itself, but are implicit within the philosophical perspective of the instructional designer, and this philosophy is given expression through the instructional design which incorporates how computer and communication technologies are used. Hence we disagree with Bates' argument that CBI and CC are manifestations of antithetical positions on learning and education.

Perhaps a brief summary of our view of the learning process would assist in understanding the model we have developed.

Formal education generally concerns itself with introducing the learner to the broad world of objective knowledge. Bloom (1956) have argued that as learners encounter new concepts and ideas etc. their understanding becomes increasingly sophisticated; there is a systematic progression in their understanding. Bloom has termed this "complexity" and argues that learning materials could be structured through the setting of appropriate objectives to facilitate this natural process which moves learners to deeper levels of understanding. While it is true that Bloom has provided us with a powerful tool for understanding the arranging of materials that will lead to a systematic and deeper understanding of objective knowledge, his construct does not, in our opinion, inform us about the necessary processes that ensure this systematic, deeper understanding. Kowitz and Smith (1987) have provided a construct which they have labelled "instructional forms" which has assisted us in our thinking about appropriate processes.

Essentially the construct of instructional form is a continuum which incorporates three broad instructional positions: form one, form two and form three. As learners move along the continuum from form one instruction toward the higher levels of form two and form three there is a greater need for human interaction in order for the learner to facilitate the processing of increasing content density[1]. Each instructional position makes different assumptions about the learner (See Table 1).

Insert Table 1

Figure 1 provides an overview of the model which integrates these two perspectives, with the vertical axis corresponding with Bloom's concept of complexity and the horizontal axis corresponding to form of instruction. It is suggested from this model that there is a direct linear relationship between complexity and form of instruction. The question then arises as to how this model can assist us in our instructional design activities for distance education, and in particular how we can effectively use computer and communications technology?

Insert Figure 1

First it should be noted that the vertical axis can be broadly construed as dealing with the organization of content while the horizontal axis informs process. Thus there is a direct relationship between the complexity and process with higher levels of complexity requiring greater human interaction. Furthermore it dictates appropriate levels of instructor and learner control within the context of the educational transaction. Thus over the duration of an educational transaction the relationship between learner and instructor should evolve as the learner becomes more proficient in the area of study. In addition, higher level learning can be facilitated by greater learner/learner interaction. Thus multiple patterns of communication are desirable for the effective facilitation of higher level learning.

If the above model is accepted as being adequate then it will assist the instructional designer in making informed choices as to when CBI and CC should be used and how they can be used in a complementary way. For example, CBI would appear to be very appropriate for lower level distance learning as the learner needs feedback from the instructor as to their understanding of basic concepts and symbols. Furthermore there is a learner need for the instructor to retain control of content and process until the learner is sufficiently socialized in the area of inquiry to assume some control and responsibility for controlling the educational process. CBI is a highly effective and efficient way of accomplishing learning at this lower level.

Higher level learning, on the other hand, will be characterized by a need to interact with others, to attempt to come to grips with the essence of the area of inquiry and eventually incorporate it into one's own personally grounded framework. Thus there is a need for learners to engage with others - both learners and instructor -and this can be best accomplished in a distance learning transaction through CC. Thus CC aids the instructional designer in helping learners engage in the necessary activity - namely interaction with others - in order to foster higher level learning. It should also be noted that the interaction at higher level learning requires that the learner be actively engaged with others and the material, and this may require that small groups be set up to facilitate learning at this level.

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[1] Content density refers to the transformation or crystallization of disparate facts into a cohesive and coherent body of knowledge that is located within personally grounded frameworks.

Applying the Model

This model was then used to design a pilot project in online education which integrated CBI with CC to deliver a distance education course entitled The Communication Process at the University of Guelph. It was the instructional designers' belief that a complete design would include the following processes: instruction (didactic cycle), interaction with others (reflexive cycle) and reflection (reflective cycle)[2].

The course took as a starting point McKeachie's (1986) premise that modular methods are effective and hence began by dividing the course material into five modules, each covering approximately 100 pages of the required text. Then five quizzes, each corresponding to one module, were developed using the VITAL (Versatile Interactive and Training and Learning) course authoring system. These modules were intended to facilitate lower level learning by providing immediate feedback to the learner as to their understanding of basic concepts and ideas through multiple choice quizzes. Each module was available to the student for approximately three weeks. The modules were based on the concept of mastery learning whereby the student had three chances to obtain eighty percent on the quiz in order to receive the two marks allocated to that particular quiz. It was intended that students complete each module in order to prepare themselves for the higher level learning which would take place through CC activities. This activity was designed to facilitate learning at the levels of knowledge, comprehension and application.

The computer-conferencing consisted of four types of activities: "classroom" discussion, group projects, the keeping of a personal interactive journal and socializing.

The classroom discussion was generated through two types of questions. The first type of questions were general questions related to the course material in which any member of the class could answer. The second type of question were assigned questions and individuals were asked to prepare a formal response on which they would be graded. In addition two people were assigned as respondents and they were requested to provide a formal response to the answer of the assigned question. Their response was also graded. Also students were asked occasionally to read cases from the textbook and discuss them online. The function of these particular activities was to actively engage the learners with the material, to discuss it and explore the implications of their thoughts and feelings in relationship to the material. This activity was designed to facilitate learning at the levels of application and analysis.

The second type of CC activity was the group projects. Here small groups of students ranging in size from 4 to 8 were asked to write a short story characterized by miscommunication. They were then asked to provide a written analysis of the case and strategies that could have prevented or corrected the miscommunication. It was hoped that this activity would facilitate learning at the levels of analysis, synthesis and evaluation.

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[2]. For a more complete explanation of these three cycles please contact A.C. Lauzon for a copy of his paper "Designing Integrated Learning Experiences" (currently under review).

The third type of activity was the interactive online journal. Here students were asked to reflect on their own experience as communicators and how the material discussed and studied in "class" helped them understand their own experiences, strengths and weaknesses as they relate to interpersonal communication. This activity was designed with the intent that learners should not just become knowledgeable about interpersonal communications but that they should become more competent communicators as a result of participating in this course.

The final CC activity was socializing and this was provided through a subtopic known as "coffeeshop". It is, in our opinion, absolutely essential that students become familiar with one another if they are to work and learn in an atmosphere characterized by cooperation and trust. Thus this is a necessary element in order to support the other activities.

A Summary of the Evaluation Findings

The evaluation data was gathered through telephone interviews conducted at the end of the semester. Nineteen out of the twenty-two students completed the interview. The remaining three students could not be contacted. Of the twenty-two students eleven were on-campus students who used university based equipment and the other eleven were "true" distance students. The evaluation interview used open ended questions and a modified form of the online education evaluation survey developed by R.S. Hiltz at the New Jersey Institute for the Study of Technology.

The following section will provide a summary of our evaluation results.

1. The University of Guelph has as one of its objectives to develop computer/communication technology literacy within the context of higher education. When asked what impact participating in this course had on their attitudes toward computers and related communication technology, 74% reported they viewed them more positively, 21% reported no change and 5% stated they viewed them negatively. This is important if the objectives established by the institution for undergraduate education are to be considered relevant for undergraduate students, be they traditional or distance students. It is also worth noting that all but three students described themselves as novice computer users. It would appear that exposure to technology through instruction is one way of working toward the development of computer and communication technology literacy.

2. Students, in general, reported that contact with other students enhanced their learning and made the learning transaction more pleasant. Furthermore they found students for the most part to be cooperative.

3. Students also reported that they had learned a great deal of factual material and could make appropriate generalizations; that they had a good understanding of basic communication concepts; that they learned to identify the central issues in interpersonal communication and could see relationships between topics, ideas and concepts; and that they had become more competent in their own interpersonal communication. The objectives of the course had been achieved.

4. Students reported that they felt this learning experience was much better than the traditional correspondence course and that they learned more than they would have in a traditional correspondence course. Comparison on the final exam between this group and a small group of self-selected correspondence students would seem to bear this out as the online students, on average,

received a mark one grade higher than the true correspondent student.

5. Students reported that they did not feel this learning experience was as good as the traditional face-to-face course and felt that in a face-to-face class they would have learned more. Comparison of final grades between past face-to-face sections and the online section revealed that the online average was slightly higher than past face-to-face sections. This discrepancy may be a result of students perceiving the status quo as being superior because it is the standard form for education.

6. Students reported that they would be willing to participate in another online course. This, in some ways, is surprising given the technical difficulties we experienced in setting up and delivering this course for a first time.

7. As part of this pilot project five disabled students were enroled in this course; two were blind, one was visually impaired and two were physically disabled. Because of personal circumstances one of these students dropped the course and another failed. Of the three remaining students one received a "C" as a final grade and the two remaining students (one blind and one visually impaired) received the highest grades in the course. One of these students reported that he was much more active in "class" in this course than he would has been in the normal face-to-face class. It would seem that this mode of delivery may offer great potential for allowing disabled student access to convenient, active higher education.

8. Student ratings of the importance of the various components of the course revealed that students valued all components and aspects of the course design (See Figure 2). The data was collected by asking students to report how valuable each of the course components were on a seven point likert scale ranging from 1 (not important) to 7 (very important). Students, for the most part, felt all aspects of the course were quite important.

Insert Figure 2 Here

Conclusion

Based upon the results of the evaluation it can be concluded that the model did serve as a useful construct for designing a distance education course that integrates computer-based instruction and computer-conferencing.

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TABLE 1

Forms of Instruction

	Form One	Form Two	Form Three
Assumption	Learner has little if any knowledge	Learner is skilled in the basics	Learner is skilled in the field
Instructor Function	Needs to control both the content and the learning process	Relinguishes some control of the learning process and content direction in order to respond to the expressed needs of the learner	Learner has control of content and processes; instructor/learner roles no longer discernible
Function of Learning	To acquire the basic symbols and methods and begin to explore relationships among concepts	Acquire basic competencies in using and applying the content of learning	Seeks the leading edge of current knowledge and may seek to go beyond

FIGURE 1

Model for Integrating CBI and CC for Distance Delivery

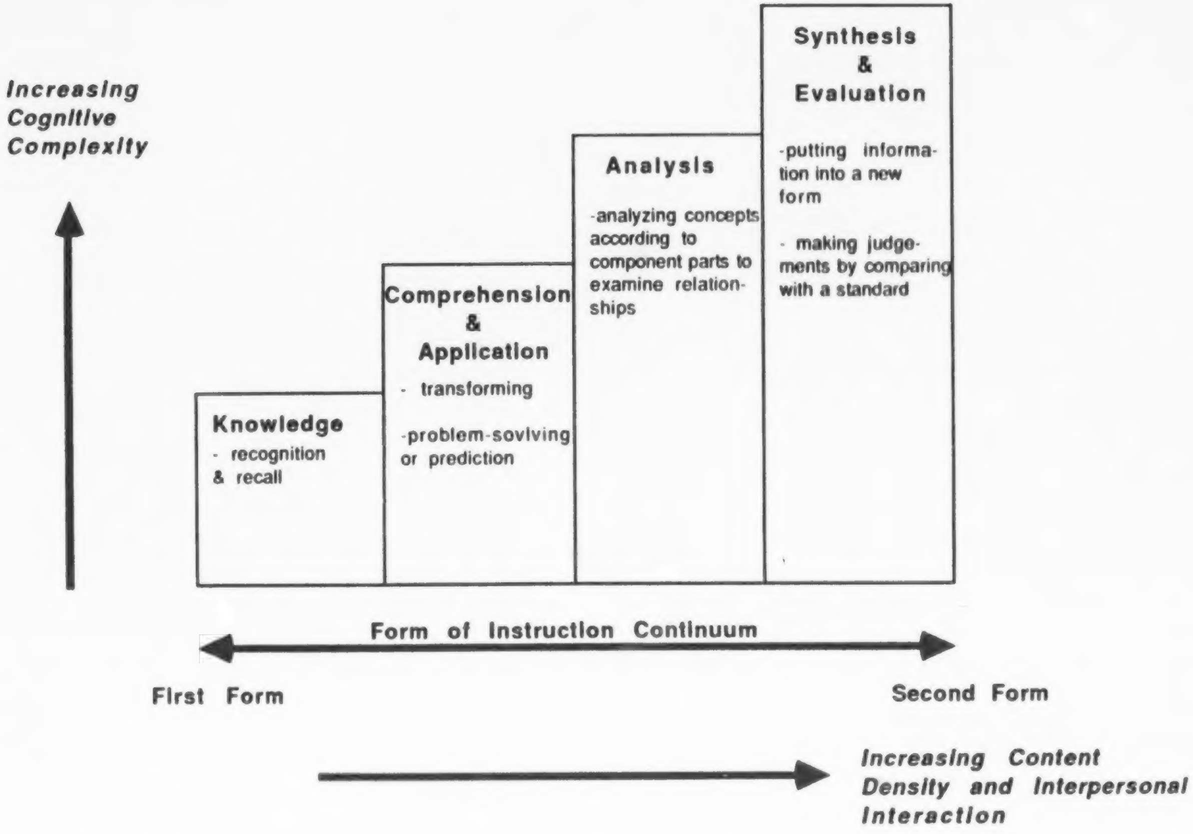
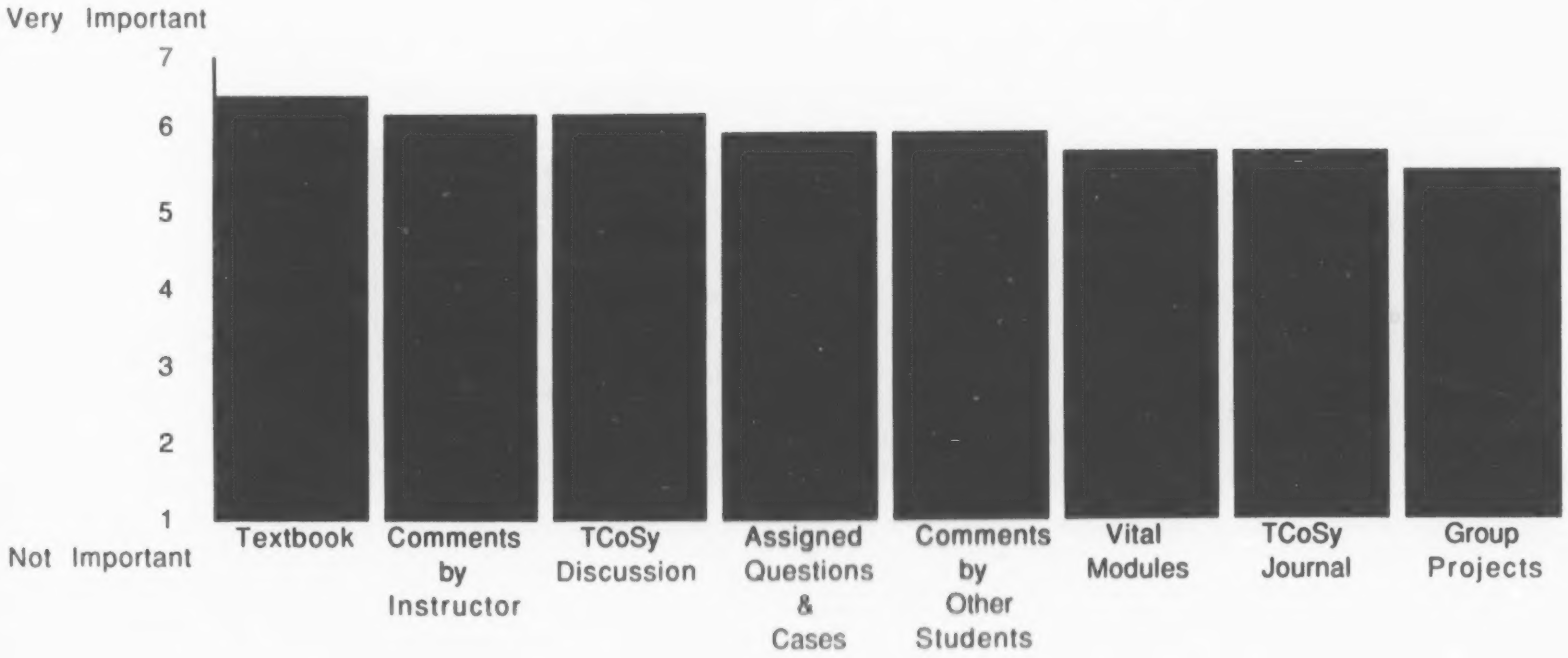

Increasing Cognitive Complexity
Synthesis & Evaluation
-putting information into a new form
- making judgements by comparing with a standard
Analysis
-analyzing concepts according to component parts to examine relationships
Comprehension & Application
- transforming
-problem-sovlving or prediction
Knowledge
- recognition & recall
Form of Instruction Continuum
First Form
Second Form
Increasing Content Density and Interpersonal Interaction

Figure 2

Course Component Rating



IMPOSSIBLE DE LIRE CE PARAGRAPHE SUR LE DISQUE

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Une cinquantaine d'adultes de 25 à 55 ans, par groupes d'une quinzaine, ont visité une vingtaine de lieux muséaux. Dans les comptes rendus qu'ils font de leurs visites, ils s'étendent, et fort longuement, sur l'apprentissage que ces visites leur ont permis de faire. Nous avons analysé ces comptes rendus à ce point de vue. Cette analyse montre comment ces adultes conçoivent l'apprentissage en milieu muséal, comment, en lieu muséal, ils apprennent à observer, comment ils apprennent sur eux-mêmes, sur les autres, sur le milieu, sur l'histoire. Sur l'histoire, qui retient beaucoup leur attention, l'analyse montre comment, auprès de la chose muséale, ils développent leur goût de l'histoire, mettent du concret sous les mots de l'histoire écrite, arrivent à l'histoire totale, voient l'histoire comme vivante, et jusqu'au point de se révéler eux-mêmes historiens. L'analyse montre enfin comment, en lieu muséal, ils découvrent l'art et la religion, qui retiennent peut-être autant leur attention que l'histoire, puisque l'art et l'histoire sont dans l'histoire, laquelle est pour beaucoup art et religion. Nous présentons, ci-après, les conclusions de cette analyse.

En lieu muséal, on n'en doute pas, on apprend. D'abord, à simplement nous permettre de développer notre soif de connaître, le lieu muséal nous met sur le chemin de la connaissance. Ensuite, il nous permet de rafraîchir et de vérifier nos connaissances, de les augmenter, de perfectionner notre attitude viš-à-vis du savoir. En lieu muséal, on prend aussi conscience de son ignorance, ce qui prépare bien à apprendre. On y apprend même si l'affectif et l'imaginaire y tiennent une grande place, ou, peut-être, parce que comme partout, comme à l'école par exemple, ils tiennent une grande place : là comme ailleurs, tout est mêlé, et c'est tout l'être qui est mobilisé pour exorciser l'inconnu et se l'approprier. La particularité du lieu muséal, évidemment, c'est qu'on apprend au contact des choses, qui peuvent même nous inciter à entreprendre des recherches plus ou moins poussées, le lieu muséal en lui-même favorisant plus ou moins notre apprentissage. En lieu muséal comme ailleurs, apprendre n'est pas une question de temps : on peut y apprendre beaucoup en peu de temps, mais l'on peut ne prendre conscience de son apprentissage que partiellement ou longtemps après la visite.

La chose muséale est là, devant soi, qu'on observe, et, l'observant, on développe sa faculté d'observation, ce qui permet de poser des yeux toujours neufs sur le monde. En lieu muséal, on apprend beaucoup sur soi, et ce , en prenant possession de ses ressources personnelles, en prenant conscience de ses besoins à soi, de ses façons de fonctionner„ de ses limites. En lieu muséal, on apprend aussi beaucoup sur les autres, et, d'abord, en s'ouvrant aux autres, en s'ouvrant au milieu, en s'ouvrant à l'histoire. Dans l'apprentissage qui retient longuement l'attention de nos visiteurs, on l'"a vu, l'histoire, curieusement, retient beaucoup leur attention. Pourquoi ? Peut-être seulement parce que, au commencement, était Clio, qui est partout, qui pénètre tout, qui charrie tout, qui note tout, "O Temps, suspend ton vol!" En vain.

La chose muséale, nul doute, aide à développer le goût de l'histoire, de l'histoire du milieu comme aussi de l'histoire universelle, comme aussi, et particulièrement, de l'histoire nationale, laquelle nous amène à celle des autres comme celle des autres nous ramène à la nôtre. On peut avoir le goût de la chose muséale, qui nous ouvrira à l'histoire, et l'histoire, inversement, peut aussi nous aider à développer notre goût de la chose muséale. La chose muséale permet de mettre quelque chose de concret sous les mots de l'histoire écrite, mais l'écrit, tout aussi bien, peut mener à la chose muséale.

La chose muséale aide à percevoir le passé parce qu'elle est elle-même histoire, mais elle attire aussi l'attention sur l'histoire du présent, aidant même à percevoir le passé dans ses relations avec le présent. La chose muséale, permet, de même, de vivre le passé au présent, le passé, qui, souvent, est présent, ou presque, qui surgit alors du présent, le passé et le présent ouvrant sur l'avenir, et sur l'histoire même, qui est passé, présent et futur liés, ce qui permet ensuite d'évoluer en toute liberté dans le temps et l'espace. La chose muséale permet d'apprécier l'épaisseur du temps historique, ce qui permet de percevoir l'évolution historique, de saisir l'interdépendance des hommes dans l'espace et le temps, et il n'est plus alors de petite histoire, la grande, toujours passant partout. Les lieux et les objets muséaux ayant chacun leur propre histoire, souvent suggèrent une histoire qui les relie entre eux, l'histoire se répétant même parfois. En lieu muséal, l'artisan de l'histoire apparaît bien réel, et l'on peut même, chacun, même s'il nous arrive de douter de nos aptitudes historiennes, prendre conscience qu'on est historien dans la mesure de ses moyens, qu'on peut y aller de ses questions, de ses hypothèses. L'imagination aidant, on se voit alors capable de ressusciter le passé, de la revivre en quelque sorte, et les objets de toutes sortes, les documents écrits et figurés, les vieilles pierres elles-mêmes se mettant à parler, les hommes et les paysages du passé, les hommes dans leurs paysages apparaissant alors, le passé qui émeut, qui remue ceux du présent, qui sont nôtres, et l'histoire, vivante, se lève enfin sur nous. Ainsi, en lieu muséal, peuvent être historiens des adultes qui, c'est le cas de nos visiteurs, depuis la petite école, n'ont jamais étudié l'histoire pour elle-même, tout en en ayant toujours fait sans le savoir, comme Monsieur Jourdain faisait de la prose, du simple fait de poser les yeux sur le monde, de feuilleter le journal, de regarder la télé, de se pencher sur soi.

L'histoire, c'est ce qui retient davantage l'attention de nos visiteurs, avons-nous dit, mais c'est peut-être trop dire, car l'art et le sacré, qui semblent retenir moins leur attention, ils en parlent non seulement comme tels, mais aussi en parlant d'histoire, qui est beaucoup art et sacré, qui sont tous deux dans l'histoire. En lieu muséal, quel qu'il soit, on trouve le beau, et on peut commencer d'apercevoir l'art, qui est partout, on peut y apprendre à l'apprécier, à s'ouvrir même à l'histoire de l'art; on peut même y rencontrer l'Art avec majuscule. En peinture et en sculpture, on peut y découvrir des artistes qu'on ignorait ou qui n'étaient pour nous que des noms; on peut même commencer à découvrir quelque chose sur une toile et à lire une sculpture, on peut même découvrir tout une période de l'histoire de la peinture et de la sculpture, à commencer par la nôtre, dont les manifestations nous entourent. Quant à l'architecture, elle est omniprésente comme les arts décoratifs et le design, comme la musique, en lieu muséal partout. En lieu muséal partout, on peut enfin découvrir que l'art est multiforme, découvrir même l'art moderne, même s'il fait horreur. La chose muséale, enfin, peut donner ou redonner le goût de créer.

En lieu muséal, on peut découvrir le sacré en découvrant l'art lui-même, le sacré qui s'incarne dans des objets d'art, dans les lieux religieux et jusque dans les lieux profanes comme certains jardins. Dans le lieu religieux, on peut s'identifier aux croyants sans l'être soi-même, et on peut n'y être qu'un passant; on peut même être sympathique à certaines formes de sacré tout en étant critique.

Le visiteur apprend-t-il même s'il est en groupe, lors d'une visite avec audioguide, lors d'une visite guidée par les pairs ou lors d'une visite libre avec ou sans personne-ressource? On dit beaucoup apprendre lors d'une visite guidée par les pairs parce que la visite plaît beaucoup, parce qu'il faut si préparer au moins pour bien jouer sa partie, parce que tous vivent la même aventure dans l'ordre du savoir. On y apprend les uns des autres, et d'autant mieux que chacun a plaisir à apprendre quelque chose aux autres. On apprendrait même mieux de ses pairs que des guides professionnels, qui ne sont jamais des pairs.

Mais le groupe joue aussi un grand rôle dans la visite libre sur le plan de l'apprentissage: lors d'une telle visite les relations naturelles entre les membres du groupe, parce qu'elles sont de soi motivantes et incitent au questionnement, permettent d'apprendre toutes sortes de choses. Le groupe ressource importerait même davantage que la personne-ressource, quand il y en a une, car chacun est personne-ressource, mais on peut s'instruire aussi beaucoup d'une personne-ressource qui sait ne pas s'imposer, qui aide chacun à combler les lacunes de son savoir, à vérifier ses connaissances, à les compléter. Mais la personne-ressource ne doit pas seulement être source de renseignements; elle doit être d'abord au service de la démarche du visiteur.

L'apprentissage par le groupe a aussi à voir avec l'audioguide, mais négativement parce qu'il coupe des autres, pensent ceux qui ne l'aime pas. C'est même au point où l'on se demande ce qu'on fait ensemble. Pour ceux-là, l'audioguide n'est pas même un guide: c'est plutôt un intrus, et qui remplacerait mal à propos la documentation écrite qui vous mettrait même hors d'état d'apprendre. Mais il en est, pourtant, à qui l'audioguide va comme un gant, car pour ceux-là il n'empêche pas de tirer partie à la fois de l'information de l'audioguide et des apports du groupe. Il serait même très utile au débutant, ou encore quand on aborde le lieu muséal pour la première fois.

Plus on est à l'aise dans le groupe, qu'il s'agisse d'une visite guidée par les pairs, d'une visite libre avec ou sans personne-ressource ou d'une visite avec audioguide, plus on apprendrait. Mais ce n'est pas à dire que la visite guidée par un professionnel ne puisse être bénéfique sur le plan de l'apprentissage, surtout, évidemment, quand on a un guide compétent capable d'émotion pour nous aider à nous accorder à la chose muséale, un guide ayant de plus le don de l'évocation nécessaire pour animer la chose muséale. Mais il n'est pas facile d'être un bon guide, le guide risquant toujours de noyer le visiteur sous l'information, de perdre son attention, de le distraire lui-même de la chose muséale.

Ainsi le lieu muséal, pour nos visiteurs, est un lieu fort d'apprentissage, et, pour eux, en groupe, les divers types de visites sont profitables sur ce plan, même si plusieurs n'aiment pas beaucoup l'audioguide, si certains font des réserves au sujet de la visite libre sans personne-ressource et de la visite avec professionnel, presque tous, par contre, louant fort la visite guidée par les pairs.

Les conditions souhaitables d'administration des auto-évaluations auprès des professionnels de la santé

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Résumé: L'auto-évaluation est une evaluation formative ou l'autonomie de l'evalue a priorité. Cette modalite d'évaluation comprend une collecte d'information, une comparaison des informations à un modèle de reference, un jugement et une décision-action. Une retroaction est faite par l'evaluateur a l'evalué. Ces eléments constituent des conditions souhaitables d'administration des auto-evaluations pour que celles-ci soient un acte d'evaluation.

Abstract: Self-evaluation is a formative evaluation and autonomy is its predominant characteristic. Four components are included in the process: collect of data, comparison of data with a frame of reference, judgment and decision. A feedback is given by the evaluator to the student/ or professional practitioner. These elements are conditions of administration to insure the quality of the process of evaluation.

L'auto-évaluation est probablement, pour plusieurs, un terme peu familier; toutefois, la realite correspondant a ce concept est plus connue. Nous avons appris depuis longtemps a faire l'evaluation de notre comportement rationnel, de notre vie emotive, de notre rendement et cela, depuis que "nous avons souvenance de ce que nous sommes". L'approche d'auto-évaluation, lorsqu'appliquee en milieu académique ou en milieu de travail, peut être refusee, acceptee d'emblee sans remise en question des coutumes ou encore, accueillie et menee de façon concomittante avec des approches traditionnelles d'allo-evaluation. L'approche risque alors d'être mise en place sans preparation suffisante et servir les mêmes fins que l'evaluation "sommative".

Préoccupations actuelles

Les professionnels de la sante ont a assurer une mise à jour de leurs connaissances et de leurs habiletes pour s'adapter à l'evolution de la science, aux changements technologiques et a diverses exigences professionnelles; la formation, avec ses modalites d'evaluation, devient un imperatif et l'auto-évaluation suscite un grand intérêt.

Tousignant (1982) decrit l'auto-évaluation comme une modalite originale d'evaluation formative ou l'individu participe a son evaluation. Il souligne qu'un manque d'objectivite et une évaluation trop génereuse sont previsibles, malgre une grande integrite de l'evalué. Ces objections tombent en partie si l'on se place dans un contexte d'evaluation formative et "critériée". La pratique de l'auto-évaluation, toujours selon Tousignant, revalorise l'evalue et lui fait prendre conscience de sa responsabilite vis-à-vis sa propre formation et, en general, permet à l'évalué d'entretenir un dialogue fructueux avec l'evaluateur.

Le point de vue de Tousignant s'apparente à celui de Ramsborg (1983), éducateur du domaine de la santé oeuvrant en milieu clinique; ce dernier rapporte que les indidivus qui s'auto-évaluent sont probablement plus enclins à s'auto-déterminer, plus motivés et plus critiques face à leur travail. Sullivan (1981), éducatrice d'adultes, brosse un tableau de la situation de plusieurs professionnels de la santé qui ont à assurer une mise à jour de leurs connaissances pour parer à des lacunes personnelles et parfaire leur formation. Se référant à des principes andragogiques, elle propose l'auto-évaluation comme approche non menaçante, confidentielle et assurant à l'évalué le temps requis pour procéder à son évaluation; elle suggère l'usage de critères pré-établis par la profession et propose que la rétroaction soit assurée par des mécanismes élaborés par les associations professionnelles.

Des études d'auto-évaluations menées auprès de praticiens en science de la santé révèlent ces préoccupations, soulignent l'importance des qualités psychométriques des outils utilisés et celles de variables personnelles ou organisationnelles (Calhoun et al. 1988; Froberg, 1984; Kolm et al. 1987; Milgrom et al. (1978). L'auto-évaluation ne fait pas l'unanimité: certains y voient des avantages et des bénéfices, d'autres la critiquent et y décèlent des limites. Certaines études s'attardent soit aux qualités psychométriques, au moment où l'on procède à l'auto-évaluation, soit aux directives qui l'accompagnent alors que d'autres études comparent les résultats d'auto-évaluations à ceux d'évaluateurs. Il semble qu'avec cette dernière modalité, les évaluations se font sur des bases différentes et les désaccords peuvent venir d'un manque de fidélité des auto-évaluations; il se peut également qu'"auto" et "allo" évaluations mesurent des réalités différentes.

Les déficiences des résultats des auto-évaluations en fonction des actes quotidiens, les liens entre l'auto-évaluation et le processus d'apprentisage, l'importance du contexte sur les activités à évaluer, les informations fournies comme directives et le moment d'administration des auto-évaluations, invitent à un recadrage de l'auto-évaluation dans une approche d'évaluation formative et à un changement de paradigme pour traiter les qualités psychométriques de l'auto-évaluation. A partir de cet état de fait, une identification des conditions d'administration des auto-évaluaions, comme objet de formation, est mise en évidence et la question suivante est posée:

"Quelles sont les conditions souhaitables d'administration des auto-évaluations?"

Une analyse d'écrits peut apporter une réponse au problème posé; cette analyse porte sur les études et pratiques d'auto-évaluation décrites dans les écrits recensés.

Méthodologie

L'information secondaire est constituée de données et d'informations recueillies par d'autres personnes et classées dans les archives sous diverses formes, telles les volumes et les périodiques. L'information secondaire offre habituellement des réponses rapides et peu coûteuses à certaines questions de recherche et elle est presque toujours le point de départ de recherches primaires (Stewart, 1984). L'analyse secondaire consiste à traiter et classer l'information obtenue; elle est reliée au but initial et elle implique l'intégration des informations des différentes sources (Kielcott, 1985). Des critères sont élaborés pour déterminer quelles études peuvent faire partie du corpus d'écrits à analyser. L'ensemble des écrits colligés, une première analyse est effectuée et chaque écrit est lu et classifié selon différentes catégories. Cette étape constitue le premier niveau d'analyse.

Les trois composantes de la présente démarche d'analyse s'inspirent du modèle d'analyse de Miles et al. (1984:23). Ces composantes sont en interaction constante entre elles et le travail d'analyse oblige à un mouvement d'aller-retour. Les trois composantes sont décrites de façon linéaire mais, dans la réalité, elles s'agencent suivant un processus cyclique. L'analyse du premier niveau (organisation des écrits) se fait et, en même temps, il se produit une analyse du deuxième niveau (éléments de réponse à la question de recherche); le travail d'analyse peut être effectué au deuxième niveau et l'analyse de premier niveau peut se reproduire. Enfin, à l'occasion, des réponses, des pistes de réflexion surgissent et c'est la troisième composante. L'analyse est donc le fruit d'efforts répétés, de recommencements, de répétitions et lorsque le travail se fait au niveau d'une des composantes, il ne faut pas perdre de vue les autres. L'analyse des écrits, au deuxième niveau, se fait de manière à répondre à la question de recherche.

Définition des termes

L'auto-évaluation est définie comme un ensemble de procédures pédagogiques qui conduisent l'évalué à porter un jugement sur la valeur du travail accompli, en fonction de critères établis par l'évaluateur et acceptés par l'évalué (Leselbaum, 1982).

Les conditions d'administration des auto-évaluations peuvent s'identifier à l'ensemble des éléments associés au processus d'évaluation formative, laquelle comporte quatre composantes: la collecte des informations, la comparaison des informations à un modèle de référence, le jugement et la décision-action; à ces composantes s'ajoutent le contexte, la participation, les interactions évalué-évaluateur et enfin, la rétroaction. Tous ces éléments sont traités dans la présente analyse.

Conditions souhaitables pour l'administration des auto-évaluations

Le contexte décrit est celui qui favorise la mise en place, la conduite et l'appropriation des auto-évaluations. Les évalués, tout comme les évaluateurs, sont ici interpelés et il est évident que les individus, où l'approche est mise en place, sont déjà liés à des habitudes d'évaluation traditionnelles. Le contexte recherché pour la mise en place d'approches d'auto-évaluation n'existe pas, compte tenu de l'héritage d'évaluation que l'on connaît, selon Scalon (1988). Cet éducateur québécois propose, comme alternative, une clarification des buts et des rôles des approches d'évaluation ainsi qu'une harmonisation ou une cohabitation des approches formatives et "sommatives". Le contexte de formation proposé à l'adulte, repose selon Dominicé (1981) sur les rôles qu'on attribue à celui-ci: l'adulte est acteur dans sa démarche de formation, auteur du contenu et agent de la démarche pédagogique utilisée; comme acteur, auteur et agent de sa propre formation, l'adulte en assure aussi le contrôle, c'est-à-dire qu'il s'interroge sur le chemin parcouru et les effets de son activité de formation. Des éducateurs du domaine de la santé rejoignent les propos de Scalon (1988) et Dominicé (1981). Tout d'abord, Furhmann et al. (1978) affirment que l'auto-évaluation est appropriée et utile seulement lorsque la situation se veut une aide aux individus dans leur apprentissage, c'est-à-dire, que l'auto-évaluation doit être proposée dans un but de formation et d'assistance aux personnes dans l'évaluation de leur développement. Le rôle que peut jouer l'évalué dans le déroulement des approches d'auto-évaluation est fonction de la conception que se font les évaluateurs de l'évaluation et de la place qu'ils accordent aux évalués. L'approche d'auto-évaluation étant identifiée à une approche formative, les activités inhérentes à la mise en place de l'auto-évaluation peuvent, elles aussi, devenir objet de formation. Les évaluateurs ont ici à planifier des stratégies qui sollicitent la collaboration des évalués et les motivent à s'engager dans la démarche. Les modalités de participation peuvent varier avec la population d'évalués, qu'ils soient étudiants ou praticiens. Les composantes proprement dites de l'approche d'auto-évaluation sont maintenant décrites en termes de conditions souhaitables.

Collecte des informations

La collecte d'information dont il est question dans la présente recherche relève d'une démarche instrumentée; la collecte d'information à proposer peut se faire soit à l'aide d'une grille d'observation ou d'un questionnaire élaboré à des fins d'auto-évaluation. Les évalués sont informés de l'approche, ils ont participé à sa mise en place, ils savent aussi que leur démarche est un support à leur apprentissage et leur formation et enfin, ils acceptent la responsabilité de la collecte d'information (Furhmann et al., 1978). Cette collecte d'information se réalise par l'observation de soi ou l'auto-observation (Dominicé, 1981); les évalués sont appelés à réunir des données sur leur comportement, ce qui implique, selon l'auteur, "un apprentissage de récolte de données, qui rend l'individu attentif aux différents facteurs qui modifient ses comportements" (p. 162).

Comparaison des informations avec un modèle de référence

La notion de modèle de référence constitue le barème, la performance-type ou le modèle idéal utilisé par l'évalué. Le modèle de référence est proposé à l'évalué pour lui permettre d'expliquer son propre comportement et lui faciliter la mise en évidence de l'écart entre le "ce qui est" et le "ce qui devrait être" (Scalon, 1988); cet écart perçu ou construit par l'évalué est en soi le résultat de la comparaison. Le modèle de référence à proposer aux évalués repose soit sur les objectifs de formation, les objectifs intermédiaires et terminaux (Scalon, 1988), soit sur un certain cadre théorique (Tousignant, 1982) ou encore sur l'énoncé de critères de contenu, de processus ou de résultats. Le modèle de référence à proposer aux étudiants en situation d'apprentissage doit faire appel à la notion de progression (Abou-Ross 1978; Scalon, 1988) et à la durée des expériences professionnelles puisque le contexte clinique peut être peu familier à l'étudiant et au jeune praticien alors qu'il est bien connu du praticien expérimenté.

Jugement

La troisième composante de l'auto-évaluation est traitée en se rappelant, qu'à la seconde, l'évalué a été amené à reconnaître un certain succès ou échec, certaines déficiennes ou difficultés associés à sa performance et ce, à un moment précis de sa démarche de formation. Le jugement dont il est question ici veut dire appréciation que fait l'évalué ou encore l'opinion critique qu'il formule sur ses performances. Les conditions favorables à l'expression de ce jugement sont: le climat de confiance, l'influence de l'identité personnelle et professionnelle de l'évalué et le respect des différences individuelles par l'évaluateur. L'autorégulation est un mécanisme inhérent à la composante jugement et une des caractéristiques de la démarche d'auto-évaluation. L'autorégulation réfère à la conduite et à la gestion autonome du fonctionnement de l'évalué au cours d'une action éducative, ou suite au jugement posé dans la démarche d'auto-évaluation.

Décision-action

L'évalué a recueilli des informations, il les a comparées à un modèle de référence et est arrivé à formuler une opinion critique sur sa performance; maintenant, des choix d'actions et une décision viennent compléter sa démarche. Les conditions souhaitables à l'actualisation de ces décisions sont les suivantes: des interactions qualitatives entre évalués-évaluateurs, un engagement de l'évalué quant aux actions à poser et une perspective d'actions-interventions significatives pour l'évalué. Les interactions évalués-évaluateurs sont plus évidentes, plus tangibles à cette composante de l'auto-évaluation; toutefois, celles-ci doivent être qualitatives et respecter l'approche d'évaluation formative, donc être centrées sur le processus.

Rétroaction

Une des fonctions essentielles de l'évaluation formative est la rétroaction; d'une part, elle permet de mettre en évidence les progrès de l'évalué et, d'autre part, elle devient un moyen de renforcement continu et une source importante de motivation (Scalon, 1988). La rétroaction peut aussi avoir une fonction diagnostique auprès des évalués qui éprouvent des difficultés; elle est alors une occasion de prescrire des mesures correctives, d'ajouter Scalon. Au moment de la rétroaction, les points forts et les points faibles peuvent être mis en évidence.

L'auto-évaluation est une approche d'évaluation formative, elle est une approche subjective, flexible et qui tend à développer l'autonomie de l'évalué dans sa démarche d'apprentissage. Cette approche a ses propres exigences quant à sa mise en place, sa conduite et quant au contexte où elle se situe. Cette étude ouvre la voie à des recherches ultérieures portant sur la formation requise chez les évaluateurs, sur le développement de normes professionnelles internes chez l'évalué par l'approche d'auto-évaluation, sur la découverte des valeurs professionnelles par l'évalué avec l'approche d'auto-évaluation, sur les relations entre l'approche d'auto-évaluation et les dimensions psychosociales des soins, ou encore sur les modalités d'applications d'une rétroaction à l'évalué en milieu clinique.

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Women in University : the Question of Educational Equity

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Abstract : This presentation explores issues central to women's empowerment as adult learners. The question of educational equity is addressed by examining taken-for-granted assumptions about how women come to university and by proposing that adult educators validate and honour women's realities in the classroom.

Cette étude explore les principaux problèmes auxquels les femmes sont confrontées à titre d'apprenantes adultes. La question de l'équité pédagogique y est abordée par l'examen de certaines hypothèses prises pour acquises concernant la façon dont les femmes accèdent à l'université et en proposant que les éducateurs d'adultes valident et valorisent les réalités des femmes dans la salle de classe.

Introduction

This paper addresses the ways in which the relationship between women and the university can be an enabling one - that is, a relationship which would make possible for women the exercise of capacity.

I begin with the premise that university, as a particular form of schooling, can be a site which both helps and hinders women. One must then ask: to what degree does university signify more a relation of empowerment than a relation of constraint for women? Under what circumstances does university make possible access to an alternative discourse and practice on the basis of which women may attempt to position themselves so as to act in accordance with their own interests?

Academia and the Exclusion of Women's Reality

I suggest that a process of empowerment for women cannot happen in the abstract since the starting point, I would argue, for any process of critical struggle is the recognition of one's own concrete experience. As adult educators, we cannot afford to divorce ourselves from women's historical location, the social conditions which mediate their experience and the institutional practices and ideological forms of thought and language reflective of patriarchal structures which have controlled and regulated their lives. Within the social sciences, however, in keeping with patriarchal conceptions of what constitutes legitimate knowledge, the individual's lived experience has traditionally been discounted and her personal world devalued and even ignored. This has also served to maintain and sanction the separation of the private from the public domain - in other words, silencing the personal. The implications for women entering or already located within university structures have been devastating. For the worlds that women live in are multi-dimensional, fragmented and complex - worlds that are not for public discussion, that remain "in the closet", if you will. Jean Baker Miller (1976) has said that when women come to academic institutions, they bring with them the worlds of emotionality, sexuality and other aspects of living that, along with women, have been relegated to the margins. The reality is that women live in a messy world not of their making, except that usually, when women have stepped into the university to study, teach or do research, they are expected to cover up the mess. This conceals the fact that women's lives are not fluid and smooth but knotted and bumpy with the contradictions inherent in their fragmented selves experienced through their multiple positionings under patriarchy.

As adult educators, we need to confront the concrete reality of how I suspect countless women enter the university in the current historical period. I suggest that, within the field of adult education, we must re-examine our taken-for-granted assumptions about how women come to university. We must also explicitly address the needs and learning agendas which are particular to women rather than assuming that these are the same as men's. For one of the central and naturalized assumptions that patriarchal institutions such as universities make is that students, meaning male students and therefore generalized to all students, come to the educational process with a sense of a cohesive self where clarity is presumed to exist. The clear self then proceeds to impose "itself" on whatever material is there to be studied.

Women, myself as a case in point, assume that they should be clear and "have it together", and the fact that so many of us don't becomes a source of embarassment, of anxiety and of shame. Many of us feel contempt for our mess - a contempt that is rooted in that shame. We quickly move to hide our mess, to go underground with it, to present ourselves as ordered, tidy and clear. Yet one of the crucial insights of my doctoral research is that women come to the educational process with something amiss, that women's self gains clarity in interaction and that this struggle for clarity is a process, not an a priori given, in women's lives.

Embodiment as a Condition of Educational Equity

This paper is a woman's work as well as an adult educator's work, one that suggests that we can no longer, on the one hand, speak of valuing women's experience while, on the other, ask them to leave their realities at the door. It is difficult and risky to bring the emotional world of women into the public space of the university, but to afford women the experience of authenticity is a political project; if we can't include the personal and private worlds of women in our political questions within adult education, we are not addressing the issues in women's lives. To separate the personal from the political produces disembodied students and teachers, denying women the opportunity of learning from a location of authenticity. For the most part, this has forced women to take up disembodied positions while suffering distortions and misrecognitions about their gendered subjectivities.

If we want adult education to broaden the range of possibilities for women and, as such, be potentially transformative and empowering for them, it is essential for us to open a space for women which enables them to be embodied. Acknowledging the personal and the private, that is, the worlds in which women live and to which they return as part of their daily realities, will help them embody their differences, not erase them, neuter them or silence them. Educational inequity in adult education will persist as long as women remain disembodied in the classroom.

I believe that if we are to take seriously the issue of empowerment for women in university and my bias is that we must, then we must re-think the placement of the boundaries that we delineate in terms of our pedagogical practices. We need to develop a learning context that enables students to reflect critically on their experience and their future direction in an embodied way. For example, women cannot critically engage with naturalized assumptions about what it is to be female through concepts, theories or generalizations that are disconnected from their lived experience or when such experience is not viewed as a legitimate basis from which learning can take place. Abstractions severed from the lives of real people serve to maintain power relations which are inequitable.

I contend that counter-hegemonic forms of knowledge can only be legitimized through counter-hegemonic teaching practices that welcome, encourage and validate the embodiment of women's realities as a necessary and central feature of learning and inquiry precisely because being in one's body as well as one's mind goes a long way to producing a powerful self.

Re-constituting Power Relations in the Classroom

What might it mean to shift the boundaries so that the personal is permitted into the educational structure? I suggest that it would recast the issue of power. Bringing the emotional, the personal and the private worlds of women into the academy re-structures power relations.

When the personal is permitted into the university classroom and made legitimate, it invites people to claim authority over themselves, producing certain aspects of the "self" where the "self" is no longer a site of lack.

> We face a plenitude of naming claims which erase, by mentalizing, our very bodies. I am trying to say that language embodies power never more strongly/magically as where it renders bodies powerless. We have been colonized through the enforced modalities of a required, encouraged, rewarded discursivity. (Corrigan, 1984, p. 11)

I believe that such a shift in women's positioning re-constitutes relations of power in the classroom in that it makes possible the asking of certain questions, women's questions, not, as Adrienne Rich wrote, "'the women question' asked by somebody else", but as "the women who ask the questions" (Rich, 1986, p. 216). This has implications for traditional notions of authority, knowledge and expertise. Where patriarchy has been the dominant discourse in the university and women traditionally have had to fit into male realities, making it possible for women and men to take hold of their own narratives rather than having to fit a displaced "self" into a neutered (since the body disappears), impersonal, social science discourse will allow more equitable relations in the classroom.

If we are to empower women through our teaching practices, we will need to consider a different kind of engagement with female students and, this is crucial, with professors, particularly male professors, vis à vis themselves. I say male professors because traditionally it is men who have had difficulty connecting with the embodied reality of women - not to mention their own. This is a site of the oppression of males under patriarchy. For while it is true that some professors support the idea of embodiment and value the process in others, it is not enough. They must also value it for themselves.

In my view, a discourse of embodiment intervenes into neutrality by validating and honouring the sharing of lived experience as a basis from which women are empowered to develop certain understandings of their concrete realities where knowledge, insights and information are gained, not for the purpose of better ensuring the status quo, but rather as a vehicle to explore what is, in order to evolve a new version of what might be. A discourse of embodiment makes it possible for female students to reclaim authorship over their own lives. It also serves to shift radically the positioning of professors and students in relation to each other, thereby changing the form of teaching/learning relationships and producing a different level of engagement between teacher and learner.

> As we strip away the oppressor's language we can look at the world as it begins from where we are, rather than from outside ourselves. We can use our everyday concrete experience. We can have confidence in our knowledge of that experience as a basis for building with others the things we need to know. (Smith, 1979, P. 17)

I know that these issues are complex and that their transferability into concrete interventions in the classroom is still largely uncharted. I do believe, however, that we need to be asking ourselves certain questions. For instance, what kinds of additional skills will we need as adult educators? And what of the boundaries? Where should we draw the limits? In whose interests and on whose terms? Perhaps we should begin by asking ourselves: how would it be for me to tell my story in my present educational setting?

I contend that a discourse of embodiment radically shifts the professor's and the student's positioning vis-à-vis each other, creating a different level of engagement between the two and making it possible for female students to take hold of their own narratives. This fundamentally changes the form of teaching/learning relationships.

> The need to begin with the female body ... our own ... as locating the grounds from which to speak with authority as women. Not to transcend this body but to reclaim it. To reconnect our thinking and speaking with the body of this particular living human individual, a woman ... Yet how, except through ourselves, do we discover what moves other people to change ? (Rich, 1984, pp. 213, 223)

Conclusion: Toward a Vision of Educational Equity

Teaching that challenges the boundaries of academic discourse within adult education by enabling women to speak from a location of embodiment produces profound shifts in one's understanding of educational equity. I suspect that any work we do in this direction will also lead us to critically engage with another vital question, namely, what presently stands as acceptable, legitimate knowledge in the academy? For in academic instituttions, where power and knowledge are co-terminous, it is crucial to ask what forms of knowlege are endorsed by those who are in positions of power (mostly men) in order to decide what qualifies as knowledge or adequate research.

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CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF PROGRAM FAILURE IN TANZANIAN AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION

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Abstract

Agriculture in Tanzania is the backbone of the economy with about ninety percent of the people engaged in subsistence farming. Agricultural extension has long been part of the landscape but it suffers from persistent problems. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the role of macro and micro-level agencies that have presided over the debilitation of the agricultural extension service.

Resume

Le' agriculture en Tanzanie est le' pivot de le' economie e'tant donne' te'il ya 90 percent de la population qui vit de la' agriculture de subsistant. Bien que la agriculture sasse partie inte' grale de la culture de pays elle souffre de problemes persistants. Le dut de ce travail est d'analyser le role que les institutions de petites au de grades envergures ont joue' dans l'affaiblissement des service agricoles.

Introduction

There is no shortage of literature that purports to explain the inability of least developed countries to 'develop' (IMF, 1989; World Bank, 1984; Rodney, 1972, inter alia) by comparing and contrasting their gross domestic product (GDP) with those of 'developed' countries. 'Economic performance' is one of the commonly-used indicators when comparing countries. The obvious comparison is probably that which compares monetary value of exports versus imports. Most 'developing' countries have high imports and low exports, and Tanzania is no exception. Eighty percent of exports are comprised of agricultural raw materials produced on small farms. As such, extension workers are an important part of the 'development' process.

In developing countries exports determine the ability to purchase consumer and non-consumer goods needed for development. This idea is the centerpiece of a 'development' theory which accords a high priority to export earnings (Welsh and Butorin, 1990). Whilst popular, this idea makes developing countries vulnerable to the vagaries of markets in the 'developed' world. An alternative is 'dependency theory' wherein each single 'developing' country has its unique position in the international economic structure. All developing countries cannot be lumped together. In other words, instead of high-level and abstract theory about 'exports', local capabilities would be valued and enhanced and reflect its stage of development. However, modern structuralists, have vehemently rejected this 'local capability' theory. They emphasize that development strategies must be based on universal models that are presumed to reflect the structural characteristics of global economy (see Wellerstein, 1980; Seers, 1963, among others). To implement this theory, developing countries are urged to adopt multi-party systems and open their already weak economies for multi-national corporations to invest.

Tanzania has a population of 24 million people and agriculture is the mainstay of economy. Agriculture contributes almost 50 per cent to GDP and up to 80 per cent of export earnings, as well as employing over more than 90 per cent of labour (Carroll, 1990). Its main exports are coffee, cotton, cloves and cashew nuts. The persistent decline of "world market" prices for these crops has eroded the income to the country and farmers. In addition, poor local pricing policies, late payments to farmers by state controlled co-operatives and parastatals, when added to other problems, have turned farmers away from growing "export" crops; now they prefer to grow crops sold to local people.

The Tanzanian economy is characterized by centralized-state control, strongly influenced by foreign aid, trade and technology. The farmers reluctance to grow and care for cash (export) crops has contributed to a slump in industrial and agricultural sectors with a consequent reduction of the foreign exchange reserves. Tanzania is thus in a vicious cycle and, in several important respects, the agricultural extension service has failed. The purpose of this paper is to analyze and examine the role of certain agencies which are partly responsible for the debilitated state of the extension service.

A Model

Agriculture extension in this context is defined as that organized government function which deliberately imparts modern skills and knowledge concerning crops and livestock to farmers so they will increase production. Agricultural extension is the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development which mobilizes trained government extension staff to disseminate knowledge about agriculture. Agricultural extension faces many problems. Most are inherent within the socioeconomic, political, cultural and organizational arrangements which exist on two levels. The relationships are portrayed in Fig. 1.

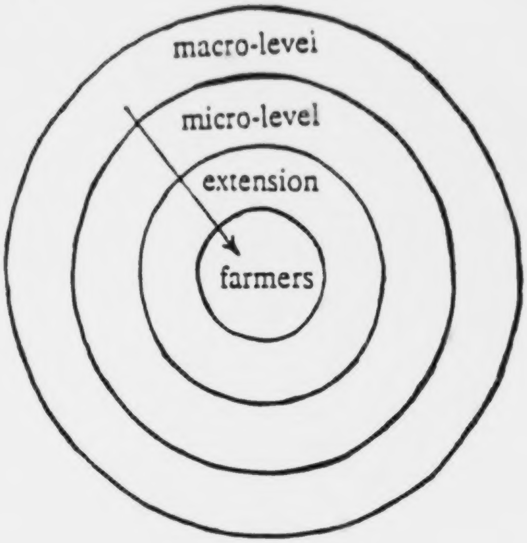

Fig. 1. A model of macro and micro-level agencies' pressure responsible for extension service debilitation and failure to serve farmers.

Macro-Level Agencies

Patterns of Authority
Agriculture extension is also a science with specific scientific code of conduct. Yet, many bureaucrats trivialize agricultural extension claiming that anyone can offer advice about agriculture extension and, because of their social positions, have made recommendations that have no basis in science or data. In attacking the role of the extension workers, they have denounced, ridiculed and exhorted them and questioned their capabilities. This, to a large extent, has demoralized extension workers and, as a result, farmers have questioned the authenticity of the extension workers and what they teach. To many farmers, government officials and party bureaucrats are thought of as employers and overseers of extension workers. To them, government officials and party workers belong to and espouse a unitary ideological hegemony which perpetuates their untenable economic positions.

Financial Resources
The effectiveness of extension is inhibited by inadequate budgets and a lack of materials, equipment, facilities and staff. MALD has often had to seek ways to restructure agriculture extension so as to continue a service and withstand "cuts".

Ideology
MALD, like any other government ministry, has approached extension with a top-down model in mind. Farmers are construed as people to be used to produce export crops that will earn more money. The architects of the extension service seem to be informed by structural/functionalist assumptions. They are epistemologically positivistic, deterministic and nomothetic and seek practical solutions to practical problems (Boshier, 1990). They assume there is an 'objective' world 'out there' that to them consists of observable, empirical entities. Extension is construed as a "one-way", technical, objective, of information transmittal process.

If farmers do not produce enough crops, a scapegoat is needed. In this case the extension service is to be blamed. Top-down approaches have been resisted by farmers. An alternative, perhaps more radical humanist (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) approach would involve consulting the farmers - involving them in a more mutual, collaborative, participatory decision-making process. At present there is little preoccupation with the farmers view concerning what they should grow. Farmers have responded to the structural/functionalists by ignoring them or growing crops which have a high return on the local market. This would include vegetables and crops such as Irish potatoes, sold locally.

A somewhat absurd manifestation of structural/functionalism occurred when the Ministry of Agriculture was split in two in 1984. Two ministries were formed. First, the Ministry of Agriculture Development which was to deal with *crop* development. Second, the Ministry of Livestock Development which was to deal with *livestock* development. This caused administrative and technical upheavals particularly in extension. Farming operations had not changed. But now two ministries were to serve one farmer who raises both crops and livestock to varying degrees. This entailed a reorganization of extension from the Ministerial level, regional, district, down to the smallest administrative unit, the ward. One extension worker dealt with crops and the other with animals. Research centers, and training institutes were also split up. This was an expensive undertaking and three years later the two ministries were dissolved and reconstituted into one ministry, the MALD. This showed that three decades after independence, extension was still not well understood by policy-makers. Extension is a complex process deeply rooted in the socioeconomic, cultural and political structures of the nation.

Personnel are sometimes moved from one position to another within the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development and this creates instability within the Ministry. Sometimes when supervisory staff move resources, materials and equipment are reallocated and this causes programmes to collapse. When people move the *esprit de corps* often goes with them as well. This effects the extension programmes. Instability has emanated from the government itself, from implicit and/or explicit pressure applied by donor agencies or from within the Ministry itself. Both intra-ministerial and inter-ministerial instability has contributed serious problems in extension, particularly by policies and its funding.

One of the serious macro-level variables arises from the lack of communication between ministries, staff, agencies, institutions, corporations which educate farmers. MALD rarely attempts to learn from or create horizontal relationships with other ministries or nonformal education agencies who engage in or, in some way, support extension work. There is no shortage of formal and bureaucratic "communication" between Ministries but a marked lack of truly reciprocal and dynamic interaction. Bureaucrats are stuck in their formal roles and the ideological hegemony of their Ministry. For example, MALD could derive considerable benefit from developing a closer and more dynamic working relationship with, the Ministry of Natural Resource and Lands (which educates farmers about tree planting and land conservation).

MALD could also meet with Ministry of Defence, Education, and the Ministry of Home Affairs which produces crops and livestock using soldiers and primary, secondary and high school students and inmates respectively. Their agriculture innovativeness have been thought to have a practical influence on farmers' adoption of new methods if they were well publicized and documented. These barriers to knowledge flow should be broken so extension work is fed with experiences successfully tried elsewhere in the country, rather than MALD depending on its research centers to offer them.

Micro-Level Agencies

If macro-level variables concern the broad context and government infrastructure within which extension workers must operate, the micro-level variables are those that pertain to the functioning of governmental and nongovernmental agencies that could enhance the quality of extension "on the ground". As shown in Fig. 1 the micro-level agencies are nested within the ambit or influence of the macro-level agencies.

A typical macro-micro agency relationship is the one involving Sokoine University of Agriculture based in Morogoro which started in 1984 and offers undergraduate and graduate degree programs in agriculture, forestry, and veterinary medicine. It is also charged with conducting research and dissemination of proven skills and knowledge in the above-mentioned fields to farmers. It is a parastatal under the Ministry of Education, while agriculture extension services are organized under the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development.

MALD has institutes for training technical cadre staff. It also has research centers for conducting research in agriculture and livestock. MALD and the Ministry of Education are two different ministries as are their policy orientations. Two vertical explicit relationships between MALD and Ministry of Education are those in training. One, is that Sokoine University of Agriculture admits the majority of MALD technical cadre staff in its undergraduate programs. Second, the majority of university graduates are employed as professional cadres in various positions within MALD including those in extension.

However, the university has no say in what goes on in extension and the technical colleges operated by MALD.

University staff can suggest ways to improve extension, but MALD is under no obligation to follow this advice. Moreover, MALD may come up with an empirical problem from agriculture extension in the field and ask the university to adjust the syllabus accordingly. The university may accept or reject the request. Each organization is guided by policies which are intransigent. Staff in regions and districts down to ward level in their different ministerial functional policies, operate in their own pigeon holes or frame of reference. Extension workers need a broad and holistic view, a willingness to work with others, and an enthusiasm for agriculture.

Crop co-operatives have aggravated the failure of certain extension programs. Instead of being farmer run and owned, they are government formed and operated, heavily bureaucratized and characterized by high levels of financial mismanagement, corruption, pilferage and nepotism. In addition, co-operatives are laden with inefficiency and incompetence. For example farmers, are not paid promptly, crops not collected on time and farm inputs not delivered when required. When they are not paid in time or are otherwise treated badly, farmers resist the entreaties of the extension agent. The farmer will most likely attempt to circumnavigate the system by growing food crops that can be sold locally - for cash. This has led to farmers in some selected areas up-rooting coffee trees and in place planting vegetables. Others have abandoned pyrethrum and planted Irish potatoes as these earn more money than coffee and pyrethrum.

Lack of farmer involvement in planning extension programmes has manifested itself as an impediment to success of extension. A bottom-up approach to planning is normally met with resistance by those at the top. Top bureaucrats construe farmers as ignorant and hence incapable of drawing-up any useful plans which could develop the country or produce more export crops. According to Rahnema (1983) models of development are rarely based on the motivational needs of the farmers except their bureaucratic ascribed needs of wanting farmers to produce more for the international market.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has analyzed Tanzanian agricultural extension programs from a macro and micro-level "agency" perspective. Through an **ecological model**, one can understand the problems of agriculture extension by construing the interactions between the macro and micro levels as well as within levels. Agricultural extension work and agents are criticized by government and party bureaucrats without any substantiated reasons. According to this **ecological model**, problems of extension are deep rooted in the socioeconomic, political, cultural and organizational structures of the government.

It is therefore, recommended that social emancipatory education based on "social empowerment" using critical andragogy be mounted on government macro and micro level institutions. This will enable Tanzanians to realize that it takes a social empowerment effort to eliminate extension problems. If macro and micro-level problems are eliminated farmers should increase export crops which all of us need.

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Interculturalism and andragogy: a self-training tool

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An action-research was conducted with teachers in multiethnic classes of school boards and government-run French language classes; it lead to the creation of a self-training tool in andragogy and interculturalism aimed at partly answering the training needs of this personnel which has very limited access to institutional training.

Une recherche-action a été menée auprès du personnel enseignant de classes multiethniques de commissions scolaires et de COFI; elle a mené à l'élaboration d'un outil d'autoformation andragogique et interculturelle qui vise à combler en partie les besoins de formation de ce personnel qui a très peu accès au perfectionnement institutionnel.

The background

The idea of a self-training tool for teachers in multiethnic adult classes came from the author's 3-month experience as *responsable pédagogique* in a COFI (Centre d'orientation et de formation des immigrants: Government-run French language schools for immigrants). The teachers' dedication was obvious as was their search for always better ways of meeting the students' needs, but the means to achieve this were not always there.

In COFIs as well as in school boards, many of these teachers work part-time and their status does not give them access to training and *perfectionnement;* some have a long experience, many are new, but few have had serious training in andragogy or interculturalism. They often come directly from university, business or regular education and no preparation is given them to teach adults.

The vast majority are from a white, francophone background and have been schooled in similar homogeneous classes. The adaptation required of them to teach adults in multiethnic classes is therefore considerable and with the very limited access to training, it was clear that the need for it had to be answered through a means that would reach them directly. Thus the idea of a self-training tool.

An action-research project with a view to creating this tool was presented by the author to La Commission scolaire Sainte-Croix who became its sponsor; funding came from the Secretariat of State for Multiculturalism and the ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec (M.C.C.I.) whose COFI's were included in the project. Two other Montréal school boards and one in Hull also took part in it.

A definition of terms

For the purposes of the project, education was defined in freirian terms as *a process of learning and critical reflexion on one's practice with a view to changing it.* Both the educational work done with the adult students and teacher training —the object of the tool— were seen in this light.

The implications are that students are subjects and not objects of their education; that it is based on their needs and experiences; that these must be known by the teacher and taken into account in his/ her teaching; that students have the main responsibility for their learning and that the teacher's role is to assist and counsel them in this task and offer their expertise in the subject matter; and that the relation between teacher and student is one of partnership, sharing power and knowledge.

Intercultural education refers to the mutual enrichment of cultures, the Québec culture seen as dynamic and growing, open to exchange and sharing with other cultures, in the continuation *(prolongement)* of the Québec heritage. Integration is a two-way process, immigrants adapting to Québec, and the Québécoises and Québécois *de vieille souche* adapting to the multiethnic reality of their society. Cultural diversity being part of the reality of the classroom, adult education must take it into account and reflect it in its philosophy, contents, methods.

Sharing, exchange, partnership are terms common to andragogy and interculturalism; andragogy being based on the needs of students and on their experience *(vécu),* cultural needs must also be taken into account in the educational process.

The project

The aim of the project was to give adult educators the means to examine their practice in a critical, objective way in the light of their colleagues' experience and of andragogical and intercultural theories. Concrete paths of action to bring about the necessary changes were also to be offered.

Some 80 teachers were met in groups by the author to answer a series of open questions and to exchange on their problems, the solutions they had found, the innovations they had created, the questions they had about their work in multiethnic classes. 26 professionnals were also met to talk about their perspective on the same matters; meetings were held with students in their classes and observation in class was carried out. The information obtained in this field work formed the basis of the tool, along with theoretical and practical knowledge in andragogy and interculturalism.

An advisory committee of representatives of the participating school boards and of the M.C.C.I. met at the beginning of the project and after every stage to react to the author's work and her analysis, as well as to the tool itself. A preliminary version of the tool was submitted to them and to a sample of teachers for validation. Outside experts were also called upon for this purpose.

The findings

As the objective was to create a self-training tool for teachers, the research was not directed towards drawing an objective, impersonal appraisal of the situation but rather an understanding of teachers' needs and how these could be met. Not all teachers have all the problems and some problems are shared by teachers in similar kinds of centres (e.g. those in very low income areas). The following should therefore not be considered as a definite overall picture but as a sampling of what exists.

1. **Adult education theories and phenomena are little known**. Some principles of adult education are part of the vocabulary but are not necessarily integrated or carried out.

For example, the effect of low schooling on students' working methods, on their perceptions, their conceptualization capacities are little known. Their difficulty in identifying their needs is often explained in personal terms or is attributed to their culture or the political system in their countries of origin; learning by heart as opposed to reasoning is explained by the same causes and in many's opinion, needs to *be corrected.*

Difficulties are **explained** in psychological, personal or cultural terms, rather than **understood**. Teachers often try to adapt their teaching to help the students solve what they see as their problems, rather than question their own work, their own perception of the situation and analyze it from an andragogical point of view.

Many have trouble finding new teacher-student relation models and defining their role, particularly in centres where personal problems are extremely serious (drugs, violence against women, social welfare etc.). Some tend to rely solely on programme suggestions rather than do their own investigation to find out and understand students' situations and needs.

2. **Little is know about culture and its impact on education.** Culture is used as a general explanation for all kinds of problems, situations, needs. Teachers' difficulty in identifying their own culture makes them ill at ease when forced to explain it and they often feel threatened when it is challenged.

There is a tendency to underestimate the strenght of culture and its pervasiveness, and to overestimate the knowledge aspect of learning (e.g. telling a student who is accustomed to the opposite, that in our culture we look at a person who is talking to us, is considered enough to make him change his way: if he knows, he'll understand and adapt). At the same time, on the collective level, culture is often seen as the cause or explanation of most problems, showing a lack of analytical tool on the part of teachers who thus find a convenient answer to disturbing questions.

The "culture choc" is not understood and values are often seen as universal. Student autonomy is for many the sacred cow of andragogy; they define it very narrowly and do not analyze its value as culture-bound. They interpret the need of some students to work in groups as a psychological dependency to be corrected, rather than a cultural trait.

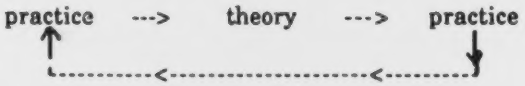
Little effort is made to bring students to talk about their immigrant culture: their culture of origin transformed by their experience of migration and establishment in a new society. And few make a systematic effort to bring students from Québec and those from elsewhere to exchange and work together.

3. **The good will and desire to serve the students are very impressive.** There is a strong commitment, on the part of all the teachers met, to offer the best education they can to their students. They question themselves, look for the best methods and techniques. Some have exceptional intuition and are extremely open and creative in their work.

The opportunity to exchange between colleagues provided by this project brought out both the lack of habit of questionning their practice and their perceptions, as opposed to questionning those of their students, as well as the very great need for this kind of exchange.

The tool

As with the research itself, the tool is based on the teachers' practice; it therefore uses this it in its approach to the theoretical aspects. The model used is as follows:



Theory being a tool to analyze practice, it is always directly linked in the tool to situations encountered in class, in relations with students, with colleagues. And suggestions for action are given.

The intercultural aspect is dealt with by using Lebeau's *relativisation critique*[1] strategy: one in which we look at our vision of the world, our ways of understanding or the practices of our society in relation to something *similar* in a foreign society and therefore cannot pretend to be totally original, or in relation to a *larger context*, which makes them appear as singular and cannot be universally generalized .

There are no receipes and few answers: rather, the tool is built in such a way as to bring the user to ask him/herself how this applies to his/her own case.

Contents of the tool

"Where are your andragogical and intercultural accents?" (chapter 1) uses a method of critical incidents to present 15 situations to the user, asking him/her to first write down the way he/she actually reacts in that or a similar situation, then giving three possible reactions, each based on a specific value: efficiency, personal relation and professional relation. The user chooses the reaction closest to his/her own and points are attributed. At the end, a graph shows the teacher his/her andragogical and intercultural profile.

A presentation of the tool is given in chapter 2. It sets out the definitions used and the values put forth.

"To know the students and to know oneself in relation to them" (chapter 3) draws a parallel between the students' and the teachers' situations, underlining the continuities and ruptures experienced by both; it invites the user to imagine him/herself in situations where he/she would live through some of the students' experiences, and suggests ways to compare and understand.

"The needs of students" (chapter 4) demystifies the personal and pseudo-cultural explanations given of the students' difficulty in identifying and expressing their educational needs. It invites teachers to go through the same process with their students as they went trough at the very beginning of the tool when they were asked to identify their own training needs.

"Yes, but in practice...(1)" (chapter 5) deals with objections one could foresee being brought up at this point: the time *wasted* discussing needs with students, the flexibility *lost* if they have a say in the course outline, students *don't want* equality, *I* shouldn't always be the one to make concessions, etc.

"Keys to understand learning" (chapter 6) is more theoretical and presents two models — Witkin's and More's — as examples to show that explanations of the way students learn, other than cultural stereotypes, do exist and should be pursued further.

"Andragogical practices" (chapter 7) deals specifically with actual practices and give several examples of possible collective one that can be used in a multiethnic adult class. It underlines the values actually served by the practices and clarifies the roles teachers have as opposed to those they may be brought to play.

"Yes, but in practice...(2)" (chapter 8) serves the same purpose as above; it deals with the distinction between learning problems and learning difficulties; the importance, value-wise, of the classroom setting; and the importance of taking account of culture in teaching.

The conclusion offers suggestions as to ways of pursuing reflexion and training. Beside a list of participants in the project and an extended bibliography (some 225 book titles, periodicals had to be omitted for lack of time), an annex explains group *animation* to help those many teachers who have had no training in this field.

Entitled *Se former à l'andragogie et à l'interculturel,* the tool should be available in the Fall, hopefully...

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[1] Lebeau, Édouard-Charles, "La compréhension interculturelle: définition opérationnelle et pertinence pour la formation des éducateurs" *in* Ouellet, Fernand, *Pluralisme et école: jalons pour une approche critique de la formation interculturelle des éducateurs.* Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1988, p. 535-564.

Agricultural Extension and B.C. First Nations Farmers: Between Modernity and Chief George Manuel's Fourth World Perspective.

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Abstract: This paper explores the historical evolution of the concept of development and its relation to agricultural extension programs for First Nations farmers in British Columbia. It provides a framework for discussion of the tension between Modernity and Chief George Manuel's Fourth World perspective.

Abstract: Ce article explore l'évolution historique du concept du développement par rapport à la realisation des programmes d'extension agricole pour les fermiers indigènes. Ce pourvoit un charpente pour la discussion de la tension entre la Modernité et la Perspective du Quatrième Monde de Chef George Manuel.

History "from below".

Since the arrival of the European explorers, First Nations people have struggled to keep their cultural identity alive. As George Manuel pointed out, they have succeeded. "At this point in our struggle for survival, the Indian Peoples of North America are entitled to declare victory. We have survived" (Manuel, 1974, p.4).

Most Canadian socio-historical works regarding the relations between the First Nations and the Europeans settlers have been written from the point of view of those who constitute the dominant classes in society. Therefore, there is an urgent need to look at history "from below" (Gismondi,1988) trying to incorporate into Canada's historical knowledge, not merely an erudite chronological description of facts regarding the relationship between First Nations and European newcomers. Instead we need an understanding of "**who [First Nations are], what they [are] doing, and why** [italics added]" (Gismondi, 1988, p.355). This approach to historical analysis, while recognizing the importance of productive relations in the shaping of society, avoids the determinism and class reductionism of scientific Marxism. It brings into the discussion peoples whose experiences are manifested in cultural terms which are expressed differently in different socio-historical situations (Gismondi, 1988).

The broad socio-political background.

The period following the Second World War saw the consolidation of the United States as the hegemonic state in the capitalist system. Its expanding economy needed new markets and cheap raw materials to feed the growing industrial capacity of the emerging transnational corporations. Based on the principle of "comparative advantages" the United States promoted the development of primary industries in the less developed regions of the world. It was argued that through the injection of capital and technologies these regions were to "progress" from their current state of "backwardness" to become "developed" nations similar to those of the Western "advanced" democracies. Modernization theory concepts that emphasized "progress" through scientific rationality and technology were to be applied to promote development of those sectors.(Escobar,1987).

Development, within the concept of modernity, has been advocated by governments and some First Nations institutions working in agricultural programs as "the solution" to farmers "marginalization". It has been argued that modernization will allow First Nations farmers to "progress". However, the transfer of "advanced" technologies through agricultural extension education programs has failed to bring about significant improvement in the quality of life of rural First Nations communities in B.C..

Explanations for the "failure" of modernity can be found in Frank's theory of dependency and in Chayanov's (1986) resistance theory. Frank's international framework of analysis provides a theoretical framework for explaining the great discrepancy in the rate of development that exists between the overall Canadian economy and that of the First Nations. It is against the economic and cultural background just described that the historical development of First Nations agriculture has unfolded.

A conceptual framework.

Burrell and Morgan's (1979) typology of social paradigms provides a good analytical tool to analyze the discourse related to the development construct that deals with cultural, economic, and agricultural extension policy issues. Their theoretical framework, through the construction of a typology of social theories, sheds light into the possible development alternatives faced by First Nations agriculture.

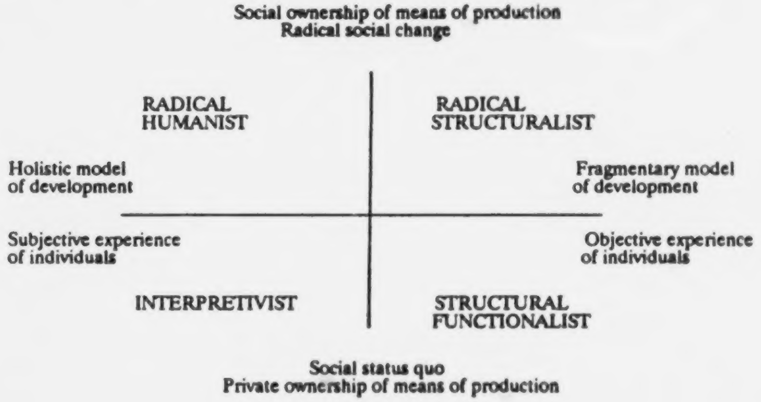
Social ownership of means of production
Radical social change
RADICAL HUMANIST
RADICAL STRUCTURALIST
Holistic model of development
Fragmentary model of development
Subjective experience of individuals
Objective experience of individuals
INTERPRETIVIST
STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALIST
Social status quo
Private ownership of means of production

Fig.1 A typology of social and development paradigms.(Adopted from Burrel and Morgan, 1979).

The above typology attest to the fact that development can be defined in different ways depending on who are the hegemonic groups in society[1]. These conceptualizations reflect the biases of the four paradigms that encompass the different theoretical approaches to interpreting social events. They will unquestionably differ regarding the role that development, and consequentially agricultural extension, should play in promoting social change. Development and social theories, allowed me to ask questions that guided my search for conceptual categories of development.

Three main conceptual ways of thinking about development were identified: Modernity, Ecologism and the Fourth World perspective.These categories were later used in the historical analysis to trace the evolution of the development construct and its relationship to agricultural extension programs for First Nations farmers.

Ways of thinking about development: Modernity, Ecologism and the Fourth World perspective.

Modernity, is understood as the application of "objective scientific" rationality and "technology", within the context of a market economy, to resolve the problems of "lack of development" that are characteristic in less industrialized areas. According to modernization theory the solution will come through "more growth" which, by definition equals progress (Escobar, 1989).

Ecologism, is usually associated with concepts such as sustainable agriculture and organic farming. Although these are concepts that imply a shift in our conception of how to balance the use of renewable resources with "progress", we must be cautious. Ecologism has been co-opted by "modernity" and has been interpreted as a new form of "scientific technical rationality".

The Fourth World perspective of development is founded in a social ethic that has as central concepts sharing and collective survival. For First Nations people knowledge and traditions have for generations defined development as a balanced process where humans, as integral part of Nature, have to live in harmony with the surrounding environment. In Chief George Manuel's words:

> The present concern with ecological disasters visited upon Western man by his failure to recognize land, water, and air as social, not individual, commodities, testifies to aboriginal man's sophistication in his conception of universal values. ...[The] Fourth World [perspective supports] the utilization of technology and its life-enhancing potential within the framework of the values of the peoples of the Aboriginal World (1974, p.11).

Extension and the history of "Development" of B.C. First Nations agriculture: 1871 to 1990.

The three conceptual categories of development previously theorized were identified, and three distinctive historical epoches became evident.

The internal colonialist expansion: 1871-1914.

It is important to remember that at the time that B.C. joined Confederation the majority of the population was First Nations people. It was not until the arrival of the railway in 1880 that a significant influx of settlers started to come into the new province (Miller, 1989).

The arrival of the railway in the lower mainland marked the initiation of a time of aggressive colonialist expansion that had been initiated in 1864. This was the year that James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island, was replaced by Joseph Trutch. Douglas had been to some extent sympathetic to First Nations demands. His successor, Joseph Trutch had, however, a very different attitude towards First Nations rights. When acting as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works was instrumental in enacting the 1865 Land Ordinance that allowed white settlers to pre-empt 320 acres of land while First Nations individuals were allowed only 10 acres per family.[2]

In spite of the many difficulties faced, by 1870 First Nation's agriculture had made rapid progress. "In 1876 we find exhibitions of cereals [from Indians from the Nicola] at the World's Fair, Philadelphia, U.S.A. taking medals and certificates for best sample of wheat".[3] Europeans settlers felt that First Nations were becoming serious competitors in the expanding farming and ranching industry. It was necessary to pressure the Provincial government to secure good pasture lands for their cattle. A good example of the success of their lobbying efforts was the government decision to revoke the original assignment of the Douglas Lake Commonage Reserve to the Nicola Tribes.In 1887, on the premise that they did not really need those tracts of land any more,[4] the land and pastures were taken away from them and sold to white settlers.

Government policies also impacted on what today we call agricultural extension services. Indian government agents, instead of providing First Nations' farmers and ranchers with support (technical, financial, and legal), spent their time trying to convince them of the unprofitability of farming and ranching (Knight,1978). It is clear then that the non-existance of extension services was not casual nor the result of the government overlooking their trust responsibilities to First Nations. From the information gathered it represented a concerted effort to undermine the competition posed by First Nations ranchers to the settlers.

The consolidation of internal colonialism and the birth of the first province-wide First Nations organizations: 1915-1969.

Canada moved relatively rapidly from the fur trade to an agriculturally based economy, and then to an urban-industrial one. The change in the structure and technology of the economy left First Nations unable to participate in the Canadian economy. The result was that a two-sector economic system was created: a modern, dynamic sector along with a subsistence economy (Frideres,1988). The modern sector promoting change and the subsistence sector resisting modernization.

Following World War I there was rapid industrial and urban development in the Lower Fraser valley and in the forest industry. With it came the possibility for earning wage salaries outside the reserves. This prompted many First Nations farmers to leave their orchards and vegetable farms and lease the land to outside entrepreneurs.[5] The exception to this general pattern of people leaving the reservations, especially in the Fraser Valley, was the cattle ranching that become established in Bands around the Okanagan and Nicola Valleys, and the Chilcotin region.[6] First Nations ranchers in the interior were, however, under continued pressure by colonization policies. Settlers lobbying through their political and business connections with government officials had been successful in limiting First Nations control of their own traditional lands in the 1880's.[7] Now their objective was to limit their access to water and grazing resources (rangelands) which are essential factors in any farming or ranching undertaking in the interior of the province.

> In my own reserve, at one time, according to the records in the books we had 500 inches of water out of Paul Creek. [Today we have] lost our water rights entirely, ... the creek where the natural flow is right through the center of the Kamloops Indian Reserve ... water is diverted out to the Western Canada Ranching Company.[8]

During this historical period that I have characterized as the consolidation of the colonialist expansion, the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) did not have any special reason to implement an agricultural extension program. The only agricultural training that continued to exist was the one for youngsters in the Residential Schools.

Although the potential for growth in the agricultural sector on the reserves was extraordinary,[9] the DIA had only one professional agrologist and two agricultural technicians assigned to provide agricultural advisory services to the Bands.[10] Government policies, reflecting settlers and other business interests, never had as an objective help First Nations agriculture to expand or even consolidate their development.

Modernity and the renaissance of the Fourth World perspective: 1970 to present times.

After a period of nearly fifty-five years of relative stagnation, First Nations farmers and political leaders started to view farming once again as an acceptable form of economic activity on the reserves. In the early 1970's an estimated number of 262 farmers, "mostly on a part-time basis"[11] were operating in B.C. A report prepared for the DIA in 1972 recommended that "competent project managers should be employed for all large operations.[12] A "tutor" from outside the community was to be hired to "train" the potential First Nations farmers in the efficient use of the new technologies available. These ideas prevalent in government policies and actions were paternalistic in nature and embedded with the ideology of modernity.

Nowhere in this report or in other DIA documents was there an indication of the need to consult with the people in the communities as to what kind of projects they wanted to undertake. The local cultural code was never a consideration in any of the development plans and the attached training programs.

In April of 1975 First Nations Bands from the Central Interior pressured the DIA, insisting on the need to manage their own affairs. As a result, the DIA offices in Kamloops, Williams Lake and the Okanagan were closed. There was then a need to replace the services provided by the Department to First Nations farmers.[13] On the initiative of Chief Robert Pasco and with the political support of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) (whose president at that time was Chief George Manuel) a group of First Nation farmers and political leaders from the Interior of the province came together. They met in Ottawa with the Minister of Indian Affairs, Judd Buchanan, on April 11, 1975.[14]

After five years of negotiations a fully managed First Nations agricultural extension program was started. Western Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC) initiated its field operations in August of 1979. It had a staff of six professional agrologists and eight First Nations field extension workers. Its main objective was to promote private, viable, mainly individually owned farms. The means to this end was the provision of extension services "to facilitate transfer of new and modern technology to farmers and facilitate the access to outside resources needed for local agricultural endeavor (water rights, range use permits and financial resources)".[15]

WIAC extension services are credited with having achieved success because of its "insider" approach to Indian agriculture.[16] In spite of WIAC being a fully-owned First Nations organization an analysis of its extension program reveals that the corporation carried a mandate basically driven by a modernizing way of thinking about development. Its annual reports indicate that a majority of the workshops organized covered topics related to business organization and management, and to the transfer of specific production technologies. Sporadically, training programs were organized around sustainable agriculture or organic gardening. Never was extension work organized around a content that allowed for discussion on how to incorporate into the production plans the First Nations ideas of communal survival, sharing of resource use, and development in harmony with the natural environment.

By 1984, in spite of the success credited to WIAC, funding became problematic because of the tension between sectorial institutions and Tribal Councils. Since then WIAC extension services have gradually declined.

Conclusions.

Through the historical analysis it became apparent that the hegemonic classes in Canadian society were able to colonize First Nations through the implementation of policies and actions that legitimized an unequal access to the control of the natural and financial resources needed for agricultural development. Domination has also been legitimized by traditional objective and "scientific" analyses of First Nations development. These analyses have generally been cast within a framework of a micro-level model (Frideres, 1988), that is concerned only with individual relationships, and have failed to understand the structural and cultural basis of development. It is not surprising that the only solutions they can envision are based on the promotion of individual entrepreneurship (Frideres, 1988).

The historical analysis based on dependency theory and Frideres' colonialist model help to understand why the DIA did not support the implementation of a province-wide agricultural extension program for First nations farmers prior to 1979.

Another important conclusion was that the creation of institutions fully owned by First Nations peoples do not necessarily guarantee the design and implementation of development programs inspired on what George Manuel called the Fourth World perspective.

The opposite views of Modernity and the Fourth World perspective about development posit the need to open a public debate to clarify the impact that both ideologies can have in the future of First Nations communities and of the rest of Canada. Adult education, through agricultural extension programs can encourage local farmers participation in this crucial debate. It can also provide the foundation for the formulation of an extension model based on First Nations ways of thinking about development.

Through active participation in a debate about the nature of development, grassroot First Nations farmers can have a direct input into the definition of the content and context of learning in new agricultural extension programs that are to be built "from below".

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FOOTNOTES:

1 For a complete discussion of the concept of Hegemony see Forgacs, D. (1988). A Gramsci Reader (pp. 189-222). London : Lawrence and Wishart.

2 Information from draft report prepared by the Indian Consulting Group on the Douglas Lake Commonage Reserve (No date, p.5). A. Palacios personal collection.

3 Ibid, p.4. Gilbert Sproat's Report, 1878. Record Group 10. Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs Resource Library.

4 Ibid. p. 32.

5 Department of Indian Affairs.(1971). Review of Economic Development Program, B.C. Region. Vancouver, B.C. It estimated that 16,200 acres of arable land were leased out.

6 Knight R. (1978). Indians at Work. New Star Books Ltd. : Vancouver, B.C. pp.73-74.

7 Information from draft report prepared by the Indian Consulting Group on the Douglas Lake Commonage Reserve (No date, pp. 16-17). A. Palacios personal collection.

8 Conference Minutes. Between the Allied Indian Tribes of B.C. and Dr. D. Scott. Aug. 7-11, 1923. Reprinted by Nesika, Vancouver, B.C. (No date). At UBC Main library.

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An Exploration of Factors Affecting Student's Choice to Continue Post-Secondary Studies at a Distance

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The purpose of this investigation was to explore factors to help explain why more women choose to continue their post-secondary studies at a AU. Areas under investigation include past academic history, reasons for taking courses at AU, employment motivations and academic self-concept. Results of this preliminary study show few differences between the responses to items by men and women and would suggest that whatever the reasons underlying higher enrolments and greater success of women at AU, neither can be explained satisfactorily by the factors investigated here.

Larger numbers of women, as compared to men, have chosen to continue their post-secondary studies at Athabasca University (AU). Currently, over 66% of AU's enrolments are accounted for by women, a trend that is not consistent with other distance education institutions. Kirkup and von Prummer (1990) report lower female enrolments both at the FernUniversitat in Germany where only 25% of the total student population are women, and at the Open University in Britain where only 43% of the students are women. Not only does AU see more women taking courses, but overall the women studying at AU have lower rates of attrition (Ross & Powell, 1990). This paper presents an exploration of factors that might account for this discrepancy in the proportion of female to male enrolments at AU.

A number of researchers have focused on the reasons why distance education has become an attractive alternative for women. There has been evidence to suggest that some women are unable to pursue their post-secondary education at traditional institutions because of a variety of obstacles that are both physical and psychological in nature. These barriers act as strong deterrents to women's pursuit of higher education through more traditional means (Bray, 1988; von Prummer, Kirkup & Spronk, 1988). Physical barriers include, for example, lack of access to institutions or lack of reliable transportation, particularly for rural women. Further, for many women who have assumed primary care giving roles, leaving the children to attend daytime classes may not be possible, especially if reliable daycare or funding for babysitting services are not available.

Although physical barriers are serious, the psycho-social impediments facing some women warrant equal concern and have been identified by researchers interested in the impact that distance education has on women (e.g. Faith, 1988). Women who have not traditionally been socialized to see post-secondary education as either a desirable or attainable goal find themselves without the credentials to meet the entrance requirements of traditional institutions. Lack of preparedness may lead some women to doubt their academic ability.

A further deterrent that has been highlighted by other authors is the very nature of traditional classroom settings. For some women, feelings of frustration and worthlessness are fostered through competitive environments, and by the devaluation of women's knowledge thus making it extremely difficult for women to function optimally, or at all, in traditional university settings (Belenky, et.al., 1986; Coulter, 1989).

Obviously it cannot be stated that all of these experiences, or barriers effect every woman or that every women who has chosen distance education has done so for these reasons. However, it would appear that the potential for barriers is greater for women and that distance education can provide an alternative for achieving university credentials by removing some of these barriers.

In terms of successful course completion, other research at AU has shown that gender was amongst the variables that discriminate between students who completed their first AU course and those students who remained incomplete (Powell, Conway, Ross & 1990). Approximately 45% of students who enrol in AU courses successfully complete them. Although this figure varies by specific course, delivery mode and course level, women have consistently shown higher success rates. During the 1989/90 academic year males showed average course completion rates of 48%, whereas average female completion rates were significantly higher at 59%. Other researchers in distance education have also provided evidence for differential success rates as a function of gender. For example, Woodley and Parlett (1983) reported that women were less likely than men to drop-out. While Carr and Ledwith (1980) also found gender differences in relation to successful course completion, the gender differences they reported were subject area specific. At AU, women students are more successful, irrespective of course subject area. Reasons underlying women's choice for distance study over more traditional means for obtaining post-secondary credentials, might help to explain why women are more successful in this mode.

Methods

Over the past 18 months questionnaires have been mailed out to all first time course takers at AU (approximately 10,000 questionnaires). The response rate to these surveys has averaged about 45%. Each test instrument contained a set of standard questions which are part of a larger, long-term project being conducted by the Centre for Distance Education, designed to identify students who are at high risk of not completing their courses[1]. A second section of the questionnaire was modified six separate times and administered to six different student groups. The items in the second section included questions about: 1) institutional service quality, 2) life events, 3) approaches to study, 4) academic self concept, 5) employment and education background and 6) role responsibility and role strain. One of the primary purposes of modifying the questionnaire was to explore factors that might potentially explain gender differences in both the enrolment and success behaviour of students at AU.

While a great deal of information is now available from the surveys, several limitations warrant mention. This research is still in an exploratory phase and because each group of students was asked to respond to only one phase of the questionnaire the possibility at present of interrelating items, beyond those that were contained in any one version of the questionnaire has been precluded[2]. Also, because AU offers year round admission, many of the students who have participated in the surveys have not yet completed their courses. At this time, assessments of existing relationships between responses to specific questionnaire items and successful course completion is not possible, although this will be pursued in the future.

The remainder of this paper will highlight the responses from the questionnaires used to assess student employment and education background and academic self-concept. The survey that was used to look at education and employment asked students to talk about their previous education, including their reasons for attending or not attending post-secondary school after high school. These questions were asked to determine whether or not current AU students felt that after completing high school they actually had a choice as to whether or not they could continue on with their studies. Questions about present employment situation as well as future employment expectations were asked in relation to student's choice to study at AU. Factors that reflect AU's policies, such as open admission, the opportunity to study at home and self-pacing were measured to determine whether or not these things were more important to women's choice to study at a distance. Gender differences in the assigned importance to factors associated with AU, in combination with previous educational background and employment opportunities might help to explain why disproportionate numbers of women are studying at a distance.

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[1] Included in this first section of the survey instrument were items designed to gather basic demographic information, information about study habits, as well as details about student intentions and motivations.

[2] In the future, aspects of each questionnaire that significantly relate to successful course completion will be amalgamated, new samples will be measured, thus making multivariate modelling possible.

Results

Why Students Choose to Study at AU

The primary reason given by both men and women for taking courses at AU was that the credits are important to their job/career development. 90% of students, both male and female, stated that earning credits is somehow related to their careers. Thus it would appear that both men and women are motivated to take courses at AU because they associate the earning of university credentials with career advancement. An equally large proportion of both men and women (50%) felt that they had other alternatives by which they could obtain their university credentials, but had chosen to pursue their studies at AU rather than elsewhere. There was obviously an equal proportion of male and female students who saw no alternative, other than AU, for obtaining university credits.

Students selected AU for various reasons. **Table I** provides a summary of factors that are important to AU's students. AU offers its students year round registration which was rated as "important" by 73% of the men, and by 79% of the women. AU also offers an open admission policy which was "important" to 72% of the men, and to 77% of the women. Being able to transfer credits was important to both groups with 85% of the men and 90% of the women rating this factor as important. Similarly, 82% of the men rated the importance of being able to study at home as "important", as did 85% of the women. Large proportions of both men (89%) and women (92%) felt that being able to manage their own time was "important". Thus, flexibility and freedom in time management are critical factors in affecting both men and women's decision to study at AU.

Table I

Importance of AU Factors in Affecting Student Choice

	Importance					
	Male			Female		
Item	1 %	2 %	3 %	1 %	2 %	3 %
year round registration	15	12	73	10	10	79
open admission	12	16	72	11	12	77
transferring credits	8	7	85	4	5	90
studying at home	3	5	82	1	4	85
managing own time	3	10	87	1	7	92

Note: 1 = not important
2 = somewhat important
3 = very important

When students were asked how difficult it would be for them to physically attend scheduled evening classes, few, but a significant number of men (34%) and women (27%) claimed that they would find it either "difficult" or "very difficult". At the same time, while a minority of students claimed some level of difficulty at the prospect of attending structured classes, a majority of both men (55%) and women (57%) stated that they would find it either "desirable" or "very desirable" to actually attend classes. It is not so much that the majority of students, both male and female, are not able to attend classes, but more likely that they choose not to.

Post-Secondary Experiences of AU Students

A large proportion of both men (48%) and women (55%) went on to some form of full-time studies after leaving high school. A greater proportion of men (57%) as compared to the women (46%) started working right after high school. Further, a significant minority of both men (16%) and women (22%) were married right after high school.

Students were asked how long they had been away from full-time studies (either high school or post secondary studies) and 13% of both men and women indicated that there had been no gap and were obviously continuing on with full time studies, likely at other institutions and filling in courses at AU. Overall, there was little difference in the number of years men and women reported having been away from school, before enroling in a course(s) at AU. Almost equal proportions of men (23%) and women (22%) entered AU with a high school diploma (or less) and similar proportions of men (41%) and women (42%) have come to AU with at least some post secondary education, including either technical, diploma or some university courses. The remaining 36% of both men and women studying at AU have either completed a university degree already or completed a diploma programme. When students were asked how satisfied they were with their current educational qualifications, 41% of the men and 39% of the women stated they were either "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied". Thus, it would appear that a significant proportion of both men and women feel the need for academic upgrading and are using AU as the means by which to accomplish this.

Students were first asked if they had wanted to go on to post-secondary education after high school. They were also asked whether or not they felt that post-secondary studies would have been a viable option after high school. 71% of the males and 80% of the females claimed that they had wanted to continue their studies after high school. Of this group, 70% of the males and 78% of the females felt that the continuation of their studies was an option, although only 49% of the men and 43% of the women who said they did want to go on to university after high school actually did. For the majority of students, both male and female who stated that they had wanted to continue with their studies but felt they did not have the option, lack of financial support was given as the primary reason for not being able to continue with their studies. Reasons for not pursuing university education right after high school are provided in Table II.

Table II

Reasons for not Pursuing University Education after High School

Reason	Male %	Female %
financial	38.5	59.3
marriage/children	0.0	11.1
working	23.1	0.0
develop work skills	15.4	18.5
low grades	0.0	3.7
personal	23.1	7.4

AU Students and Their Employment Expectations

As mentioned earlier, almost 90% of both the men and women stated that earning AU credits was related to career development plans and close to 70% of men and women felt that they would experience "serious" or "very serious" career setbacks by not successfully completing their AU course. The students were asked what their current employment status was. 73% of the men were working full-time, compared to 52% of the women; 15% of the men were working part-time or casual, compared to 30% of the women; and 12% of the men and 18% of the women were not working. Students were questioned about their current jobs for two reasons. The first was to determine if there were any significant differences in the occupational levels of the male and female students in this sample and the differences were not significant. The second was to establish a baseline to find out whether there were any significant differences in men and women's expectations regarding employment shifts over the next five years. On the whole there was little difference between the current occupational levels of men (mean of 475) and women (mean of 481) who were working (Blishen, Carroll, & Moore, 1987). For those students who envisaged a change in positions five years from now, men saw an average increase of 94 on the Blishen scale, whereas the increase for women was 100, which was not a significant difference. And while a number of students would like to see a change in position over the next few years, only 20% of both men and women stated that they were either "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" with their current employment position.

Academic Self Concept

Students were asked to rate a number of items, on a 5-point scale, that were designed to assess academic preferences and aptitudes with a focus on past performance. The majority of items dealt with the core subjects of English and mathematics, although there were a number of other items reflecting students general and current academic self concept. Differences between male and female students were assessed using simple t-tests, along five different academic self-concept dimensions.

Table III

Academic Self Concept

Scale*	Male mean	Male s.d.	Female mean	Female s.d.
Past				
math aptitude	11.9	4.5	14.1	5.4
math preference	9.6	3.3	10.7	4.0
English aptitude	15.5	4.6	14.0	5.1
English preference	10.0	2.9	8.9	3.5
Current				
academic concept	8.5	2.2	8.2	2.3

Note: Number of items in each scale varied

The results indicated significant differences on four of the five dimensions: female students scored significantly higher on both the perceptions of past academic performance and preference for mathematics as a study area than did male students and, females scored significantly lower on both perceptions of past academic performance and preference for English as a study area than did male students. While there were clear differences between male and females students in terms of perceived aptitude in both mathematics and English, there were no significant differences between men and women in terms of current academic self concept.

Discussion

The areas that were initially selected for investigation and subsequently highlighted in this paper, were chosen because background literature has suggested that women are more apt to be attracted to distance education institutions because of the removal of barriers, both physical and psychological, that may act as deterrents in the pursuit of post-secondary education through more traditional means. No significant differences were found between men and women's responses to items assessing previous education, desire to pursue post-secondary studies, availability of options for the pursuit of higher education and reasons for selecting AU. These lack of differences between the two groups would seem to indicate that the reasons behind why both men and women choose to study at AU are not dissimilar. Students who choose distance study do so, in part, because of the freedom and flexibility the study mode offers. The women at AU appear to be no less academically prepared, nor have lower academic self-concepts than the men. Both groups see distance education as an important factor for career development and advancement. In order to understand both the disproportionate number of women at AU and their success, there is clearly a need to continue exploration in these and other areas.

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HOSPITAL ETHICS COMMITTEES: A ROLE FOR ADULT EDUCATORS[1]

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Abstract: This paper describes the centrality of education to the functioning of hospital ethics committees and suggests several ways in which the expertise of the adult educator might enhance the effectiveness of these committees.

Résumé: Cet essai décrit l'importance de l'éducation au fonctionnement des comités d'éthique, et suggère plusieurs manières auxquelles le compétence de l'éducateur d'adultes pourrait rehausser l'efficacité de ces comités.

INTRODUCTION

Rapid advances in medical knowledge and technology, spiralling costs, increased expectations from patients and their families, and the changing roles of health care professionals and institutions have added significantly to the ethical dilemmas encountered in health care delivery in the past few years. Many Canadian hospitals have responded to the growing need for a forum in which to discuss complex ethical issues by establishing institutional ethics committees (IECs). Typically, IECs assume responsibility for (1) planning and delivery of educational activities to raise the ethical awareness of the institution's staff, and (2) examination of the ethical issues involved in hospital policies and procedures related to patient care. In many institutions, ethics committees also act in an advisory capacity to assist health care professionals, patients, and families to find resolutions for difficult ethical dilemmas or conflicts of values (Storch, Griener, Marshall, and Olineck, 1990, p. 4-5).

Canadian IECs are normally multidisciplinary. Almost all include nurses, physicians, clergy and administrators. Social workers and board members are also frequently represented. In most hospitals, members are appointed to the committee because they have demonstrated an interest in ethical issues. However, many will have had little or no formal education in ethics. While many large urban hospitals, particularly those affiliated with universities, employ a clinical ethicist, community hospitals are unlikely to have such a resource readily available within the institution.

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[1] Findings are based on an informal study completed by the author which included a literature review, participant observation, and discussions with a number of clinical ethicists and ethics committee members working in south-central Ontario.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ADULT EDUCATION TO IECs

A review of the literature clearly indicates that adult education is central to the work of institutional ethics committees. In 1983, a national conference of the American Society of Law and Medicine brought together a group of distinguished scholars from a variety of disciplines in order "to discuss various aspects of ethics committees and to try to develop some consensus on what these committees are and should be" (Cranford & Doudera, 1984, p. 5). In the book developed from that conference, the editors identified education as the first function of ethics committees,

> This function involves improving the understanding of the institution's staff and serving as a focal point for multidisciplinary discussion and education on medicolegal and bioethical issues. Most committees assume this role, and engage in a variety of activities aimed at filling this need. (Cranford & Doudera, 1984, p. 12)

Since that time, committees have continued to recognize education of the hospital community as a primary objective. In 1986, the Canadian Hospital Association approved policy guidelines for the establishment of multidisciplinary ethics committees in Canadian hospitals and endorsed education as an accepted and appropriate function for these committees. In their recent article, Ethics Committees in Canadian Hospitals: Report of the 1989 Survey, Storch et al. found that 77% of the responding hospitals are involved in "meet[ing] educational needs of hospital personnel relating to ethical matters" (1990, p. 5).

Education of staff is also an essential component of the committee's ability to fulfill its other major functions. When a new policy has been developed, the IEC must successfully instruct the hospital personnel about the intentions and value of the policy and the strategies planned for its implementation. Without this educational follow-up, the most well-conceived policy is unlikely to result in the intended behaviour changes. Similarly, when committees agree to consult with staff members who are struggling with ethical dilemmas, one important objective of the consultation is to help those involved to learn techniques for resolving similar conflicts themselves in the future.

But while education of the hospital community is a primary objective of ethics committees, this function as well as all others must be preceded by the self-education of the committee. Clearly, committee members cannot presume to educate or advise others, or assume responsibility for assuring the moral acceptability of institutional policies, until they have educated themselves. Experts cited in a special report on successful ethics committees in the United States prepared by the Medical Ethics Advisor, recommended that "a minimum of a year should be devoted to self-education before an ethics committee takes on any other projects"

(Feb., 1988, p. 22). And in her Handbook for Hospital Ethics Committees (1986), Judith Wilson Ross, associate in ethics at the Center for Bioethics at the University of California, advised that "ethics committee members need to take their self-education seriously and be willing to spend some time and energy learning about ethics, law, and the history of bioethics" (p. 49). She went on to stress the need for members to develop a "facility in asking the right questions, sorting out the significant principles involved, and suggesting appropriate options" (p. 50).

Cranford and Van Allen have also identified education as the most important function of ethics committees, not only because it must precede the other functions, but because it must be ongoing to keep up with the turnover in the membership of ethics committees and hospital staff and the changing nature of ethical dilemmas (1985, p. 20). With rapid advancements in medical technology, changes in policy and law, and an ever-increasing body of literature in bioethics, even the most experienced committee members and staff will need to be provided with ongoing educational opportunities.

A ROLE FOR THE ADULT EDUCATOR

My review of the literature and discussions with those working in the field in Ontario leave no doubt that education is an essential function of IECs. It would appear obvious, therefore, that ethics committees could benefit from the skills of those trained to facilitate adult learning. And yet, while the field of applied bioethics has engendered an ongoing dialogue as to the relative merits of clinical training as opposed to training in moral traditions and theories, there has been no apparent recognition that the adult educator also possesses an expertise that could enhance the effectiveness of IECs.

An adult educator who is familiar with the principles of adult learning and the characteristics of adult learners, and who has a knowledge of a wide variety of facilitation techniques, can assist IECs in creating educational experiences that truly meet the needs of their audiences. While clinicians and ethicists continue to provide the expertise with regard to the content of these programs, the educator can provide the expertise in program design. In my experience, ethics committees have tended to follow the medical model in planning education events. Lectures are still a favoured technique in spite of the value-laden topics. Question periods are often much too brief, and frequently only a few have an opportunity to speak. There is often insufficient effort made to tap the different backgrounds of those present and to demonstrate that all opinions are valued regardless of the position each participant holds in the institution. Not surprisingly then, the "discussions" are often dominated by those who are already confident of their knowledge of the issue at hand and the value of their opinions. While the atmosphere is friendly, and questions from those who are less knowledgeable are not intentionally discouraged, the design of discussion periods effectively deters their participation. I believe that IECs need skilled facilitators of adult learning to assist in planning events that take into account the different personal and professional experiences and different learning styles of their audiences. Perhaps more importantly, the educator can encourage IEC members to recognize their own individual learning needs and styles and to plan their self-education accordingly. In this way the effectiveness of the committee will be enhanced by the increased competence and confidence of its members, and the educator will have provided members with a new model for designing educational events for others.

Both the reports of my informants and the literature reveal that there has been little formal evaluation of the work of IECs. The number of ethics committees in Canada is increasing rapidly, and there is a growing demand for proof of their effectiveness. Committees need to know more than whether participants felt satisfied immediately after an educational event. They need to know if the information and experiences they have provided have resulted in any changes in the way health care professionals practise. An adult educator can provide leadership in retrospective evaluation of completed committee projects and guarantee that future project designs include a mechanism for meaningful evaluation. By ensuring that the goals for each task and educational event are clearly defined, and that program objectives are written so that worthwhile evaluations can be readily completed, the adult educator will assure that mistakes are not repeated and that successes can be demonstrated.

An excellent knowledge of small group dynamics and experience in small group facilitation are essential attributes for the person who leads IEC discussions and guides their decisionmaking. It is generally conceded that the value of ethics committees lies in the diversity of expertise and perspectives that a multidisciplinary group brings to the discussion of an ethical dilemma. But if the group leader is not aware of or does not know how to deal with the power and authority dynamics which affect group participation, the advantages of these different perspectives will be lost. My own experience has made me acutely aware that even when there is no intent to use the authority of one's position within the hospital hierarchy to influence committee decisions, one cannot easily leave that authority outside the door of the meeting room. The result may be a reluctance by some members to speak up or to question the statements of a fellow member who holds a superior position in the institution. In addition, it is well-documented that one of the ethical dilemmas that hospitals are currently facing is the effect on patient care resulting from the struggle among health care professionals to redefine their roles and responsibilities. As Aroskar notes, "the ethical relationships of health care professionals...may enhance or impede the dialogue...[of] institutional ethics committees" (1984, p. 210). It requires a skilled facilitator to help members to interact on a more equal basis and to set aside their differences in order that they might begin to truly understand the others' roles and perspectives. Ross (1986) stresses that "committees are interdisciplinary just so that members can learn from one another. Part of committee self-education should address that learning in a formal way" (p. 50). The adult educator can assist the committee to learn about group dynamics and to examine their own interaction. He may also be in an excellent position to chair group discussions from a neutral stance in both the institutional hierarchy and in the struggle for respect and authority among clinical disciplines.

Ross (1986, Chpt. 2) has made another important point when she suggests that committee members should become aware of moral development theory. There is a tendency for groups to strive for consensus and in so doing to reach a decision at a lower stage of moral development than that of which the individuals are capable. She feels that members should be aware of the level at which they make moral decisions and strive to attain a higher level. Adult educators who have studied adult maturation theory and the work of Kohlberg, Gilligan and others may assist committees in this area.

These are just a few examples of the areas of expertise which an adult educator might bring to an institutional ethics committee. Several other examples could be cited. Adult educators can assist with instrument design, data collection and data analysis for committee research projects. They can create innovative programs for specific audiences. And they may help the committee develop an ethics resource centre and an ethics newsletter. The focus of their work will vary according to the mandate of the committee and the other resources available to it, such as the presence of an ethicist on staff, but there is no doubt in my mind that the adult educator does have a contribution to make in this field.

CONCLUSION

The literature, and my acquaintance with the work of several committees in the Toronto area, has demonstrated to me unequivocally that education is at the heart of all that ethics committees do. It is also clear that it is an ongoing task. This paper describes a new field of study and practice for adult educators. It demonstrates that they can facilitate the work of IECs and the learning of ethics committee members and hospital staff. While the educator cannot replace the clinician or ethicist, she can assist those with greater knowledge in the medical, philosophical, religious, and legal aspects of bioethics to communicate their knowledge to others more effectively and to evaluate their effectiveness. Together they can ensure that institutional ethics committees live up to the high expectations which accompanied their creation.

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Teaching Ourselves to Read

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ABSTRACT: A feminist interpretation of texts and contexts challenges interpretive theories that claim to be a-political, while at the same time ignoring women except as objects.

In this paper I critique the practice of teaching at the university from an adult education perspective. In particular, I suggest that adult education needs to be underlined by a feminist perspective if it is to escape the liberal, humanist tradition that promotes universality under the rubric "man." Feminist pedagogy is a political act for social change that, in part, parallels some notions of adult education. Ideas such as liberatory education, critical reflection, and collaborative learning are some of the points of overlap between the two approaches to learning. But, while much of the adult education theory overlaps with feminist notions of education, in practice, the gaps are wide. The problem is that any humanistic education that does not specifically address gender issues cannot adequately serve women's needs to make explicit the structures that oppress. In spite of many fine programs and person-centered teaching strategies, the humanistic model of adult education fails to present a challenge to the present social system and remains individualistic, ultimately reinforcing the myth that the remedy for social problems lies in the person. Convinced by adult education philosophy that education is much more than the sum of its products, I discuss the university context as a problematic site for the representation of feminist pedagogy.

Even amid models of critical education practice, women often find that the realities of their lives are not reflected in the androcentric ideologies of post-secondary education. According to Angela Miles (1989) the ungendered assumptions of many adult education courses renders them impervious to women's needs as women. Susan Collard suggests that women's challenge to adult education has not been met, particularly with respect to its understanding of "women, with feminism and with the insight from the women's movement" (Collard, 1990, p. 51). In spite of its rhetoric of education for social change, adult education offerings continue to reinforce women's secondary role in society (Hughes & Kennedy, 1983). While adult education is not to be singled out as the last holdout on the block that fails to understand women, I do mean to situate adult education in the liberal humanistic tradition of the university that privileges maleness as the model of what it is to be human. Later in this paper, I discuss the content of English literary studies as an example of a university discipline which privileges a male point of view.

Reading the Context

A convenient metaphor for this discussion is that of reading a text, and as we take meaning from texts, so we take meanings from the events that occur around us. Like the words, sentences and paragraphs of a text, human action is an event that is open to a range of interpretations and references which decide their meaning. Paul Ricoeur says that "All significant events and deeds are...opened to this kind of practical interpretation through present *praxis*. Human action, too, is opened to anybody who *can read*" (Ricoeur cited in Thompson, 1981, p. 208).

Just as a text is open to the interpretation of those who read it, the context for human activity which is the university is open to interpretation. This study looks at reading in both a literal sense and in a metaphorical sense. As the topic addresses a feminist pedagogy in the teaching of English literature, reading is a literal event. But the ongoing metaphor of context as text slips easily between figurative and literal applications. This idea of reading the university is what goes on any time someone interacts or encounters the university context. Insofar as we are more or less involved with the university, we cannot stop interpreting it.

The point of view I use and the experiences and prejudices I bring to the reading event cannot be separated from my interpretation in this study. The fact that my reading is coloured by personal involvement is not, in itself, unusual. The location of the reader within a context is not only commonplace; it could not be otherwise. The reader is always situated in some context that presupposes what and how she will perceive and understand. The problem of reading the university is deciding who may read, what may be read, and whose reading will be aloud.

The interpretation of how we read will depend not only on our previous life experiences, but also on how we have been taught to read. A great deal of feminist criticism, both theoretical and practical, is founded on the understanding that "reading as women is not necessarily what occurs when a woman reads: women can read, and have read, as men" (Culler, 1982, p. 49). Implicit in the notion that we read differently according to our gender is the understanding that the experience the reader brings to the text is at least as significant to the interpretation as the reading event itself. Moreover there are as many experiences as there are readers and no single prerequisite mindset. Assumptions about gender provide only one set of criteria for viewing the world, albeit the criteria are significant when we consider how profoundly we are inculcated into our role as male or female. On the other hand, other categories of social stratification such as race and class are equally vulnerable to a dominant reading by a single identifying group. Elizabeth Spelman notes that since "gender is neither experienced nor describable independently of race and class, then race and class become crucial to feminism" (Spelman, 1988, p. 176).

By the phrase "as women" I do not refer to an essentialism or a biologically determined understanding of the category "woman." Rather than subjectivities described as an irreducible humanist essence, I rely on feminist poststructuralist philosophy which "proposes a subjectivity which is precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak" (Weedon, 1987, p. 33). I refer to women as agents acting in their own behalf; locally, contingently and historically constructed in discourse; represented by the intersection of their particularities of class, race, age, able-bodiedness, sexual preference, et cetera.

The Woman in the Text

I have chosen English literature as an example of a university discipline dominated by masculinist thought. In an area in which women frequently outnumber men, the exclusionary practices of English literature can easily be extrapolated for their implications in other disciplines. This discussion of English literary theories is an example of how a feminist critique makes problematic assumptions within a particular discipline. I illustrate the inadequacy of thinking that excludes women's perspective and the difficulty for women to find representation other than in male-encoded terms.

One reason for choosing English literature is its hermeneutical function, and specifically, the study of theories of interpretation which inform and are informed by certain philosophies. In choosing English literature, I study the capacities of various interpretations to represent women's experiences.

The entire area of literary criticism is itself problematic when the analysis, study, and theorizing about literature becomes more important than reading the book. Literary scholarship has a way of escaping the experience of the literary work when instead of suggesting that we read the work, it asks how we will deal with it (Barzun, 1984). To the extent that literature becomes the property of scholarship and professionals, knowing what one thinks about the subject becomes infinitely more important than direct experience with it. When the unquestioned aim becomes the analysis of the work, the discussion of method flowers as the focus of debate.

From a feminist perspective, a discussion of the merits of various literary theories must make problematic what is to be considered as literature. On what terms will writing about and by women be included? In particular, what roles will women play as writers beyond the marginalized positions now offered, and how may the characters be interpreted; what will reading be like when it is acknowledged to be a gendered event? Terry Eagleton (1983) states that new definitions of literature do not simply provide ever differing accounts, for example, of the plays of Samuel Beckett. He suggests that a redefinition or "breaking with the literary institution...means breaking with the very ways literature, literary criticism and its supporting social values are defined" (Eagleton, 1983, p.90).

Eagleton shows that the shape of a theory is determined by a wider arena than literature alone, that theories are informed and sustained by certain readings of social reality. By this process, literature resembles a large, amorphous body that is described according to the part that seems most salient to those who favour a particular interpretation. Each methodology subsumes what it thinks is important in literature. Whatever gets left out is, by definition, unimportant.

Claims by literary critics that their favourite interpretation theory is an objective stance support two untenable propositions. First every theory supports some political agenda and simply declaring it to be neutral does not make it so. Secondly, the value of objectivity is itself a questionable stand. The claim of objectivity serves only to provide an argument for the exclusion of theories such as feminist literary criticism whose political statement of social change is explicit.

In one sense, what we understand as literature is a kind of self-referential language (Eagleton, 1983, p. 8). To qualify as a topic of literary discourse and criticism, a work must first be judged as literary; and entrance into this ring is determined by the literary institutions (Eagleton, 1983, p. 89). The problem that this closed-circuitry presents for women's writing, literary criticism, and feminist pedagogy, is that the norms and definitions of what is aesthetic have already been decided, with a most noticeable absence in the lack of input by women. The concern is that women's voices in English literature are acceptable in so far as they meet existing standards. This is one of the reasons the feminist project makes problematic the areas of reading and writing as crucial components for "interpreting the world in order to change it" (Schweickart, 1986, p. 39).

Modern literary and critical theories are far from being value free or neutral. On the contrary, their silence on the question of women's issues already demonstrates the value that to be human is to be male. In their treatment of value judgements as non-issues, they remain as self-referential as any positivistic science. The objectivist suppression of the non-rational and the elevation of the rational imagines that words, alone, can be used to construct external reality. In the suppression of non-rational qualities such as value, sentiment, empathy and emotion, and the elevation of the rational, literary theories use words alone to construct a reality, "fashioned by particular people for particular reasons at a certain time" (Eagleton, 1983, p. 11). The theories of interpretation are historically variable and have a close relation to social ideologies.

As a representation of their experiences, male and female fantasies about reality are valued differently. In using the written word, it is the literary medium that remains available to women, and women's reality is mainly revealed not only in but also as fiction. Other genres that women often use such as journals, diaries and letters, are often discounted as literature because they cannot be written off as fiction. Men's fiction, however, can be read in the law, the universities, the churches, the civil and moral codes by which our society is ordered. It is male subjectivity that has created this reality. This is the story of men's reading of their own world and of the world of others. Because they are recorded as fiction, women's accounts of their own reality need not be believed (Brossard, 1991, p. 20). The accounts of women remain for those who know how to read them.

A feminist literary theory has, as one part, the critique of theories which continue exclusionary practices by determining in advance what will be included. Feminist literary criticism makes problematic women's point of view in literature, as an interest that has in interpretation theories, been underestimated, derided or ignored. The critique also extends to methodology that does not acknowledge the political nature of its organizing practices. Feminist literary theory, however, is more than a critique of men's studies.

While feminist literary studies privileges women's point of view, the studies extend beyond woman as reader, to encompass concerns for woman as writer. How will women represent themselves in texts? When women reveal their voices in print, what styles, histories, themes, and structures do women choose?

Writing as women is a difficult task given the male encoding of narrative patterns, roles for women in literature, and the use of language itself. Two equally unsatisfactory locations for women as writers are the valorization of an essentialism of women, and the definition of women in terms of their difference from men. Both locations truncate the complexities of speaking and writing from a women's point of view.

The concern about women's representation in literature is a concrete issue in the definition toward a feminist hermeneutics; the interpretive process of feminist pedagogy is a similar concern. The poetics of the novel and the pedagogy of the classroom are the intangible media by which writing and teaching are performed. A feminist hermeneutics that is central to both teaching and writing comprises these parts: understanding, interpretation, and application of texts and contexts. The interpretation of texts in feminist literary criticism is one part of a feminist hermeneutic, and the application of feminist pedagogical practice in the classroom is another. The revelation of women in feminist pedagogy is not so different from feminist literary tradition. In both processes, we are constantly immersed in the hermeneutical process of interpreting texts, contexts, each other, and ourselves.

The interpretation of texts is not a neutral act. Questions arise about the practice and theory of what is going to be interpreted, and who gets to decide. Further, what tradition will be used for the interpretation, and whose purposes are served to do things in this way? Feminist criticism is an important matrix for raising questions about the political assumptions of the interpretation of the (con)text of classroom practice.

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Yesterday Speaks to Today: Voices from the Mid-1930s

Gordon Selman

The author has chosen seven significant documents (in English) from the field of adult education in Canada in the period 1934-1937. They include speeches, articles and a research report. They are examined for what they reveal about their time of origin, and for their relevance to our present situation.

Sept documents decrivant l'etat de l'andragogie au Canada entre 1934 et 1937 seront examines pour l'information historique qu'ils apportent a l'etude du domaine et leurs repercussions modernes.

We have so far given little attention in Canada to the voices of what Cotton (1968) has termed the "idealistic" period of adult education, the years before a more professionalized approach was adopted. A few book-length statements such as those of Coady (1939) and Corbett (1957) are very well known, and Kidd, in his first collection of writings about the field (1950), preserved some shorter pieces, but these are exceptions--and all the more valued for that. This paper provides an examination of several others.

The seven documents discussed here are extremely varied in character. Two were originally speeches--D.A. Stewart's, designed to promote the formation of an adult education association in Manitoba, and Robert England's to introduce himself as the newly-appointed Director of University Extension to the "town and gown" community in Vancouver. Three were journal articles--J.J. Tompkins' brief summary of the philosophy behind the Antigonish Movement, F.G. Thomas' description of the 1934 conference which began the process of organizing the CAAE, and W.J. Dunlop's account of the founding conference and prospects of that organization. The two remaining documents are the long and the short of it--P. Sandiford's report on the 1935 survey of adult education in Canada (my interest here is mainly his comments about the field) and a brief editorial by H.F. Munro, the President of the CAAE, which was written for an early issue of their journal.

The focus of my interest in examining these documents lies in at least three areas. The first has to do with how adult education was seen in this four year period. What was thought to be included within that field and what vision was there of adult education's role? A second area of interest was whatever perspective was revealed on the idea of professionalism and institutionalization in the field. Was adult education seen as a people's movement, and who was thought of as providing leadership and sponsorship? Thirdly, there was the perennial historian's question--what meaning for our time do we find in these events of more than fifty years ago?

The Documents

The earliest of the seven was the speech given by D.A. Stewart (1934) under the title, "Learning and Living" to a meeting in Winnipeg on September, 24, 1934 which was considering the formation of an adult education association. Stewart was a prominent medical doctor and head of a T.B. sanitorium in Ninette, Manitoba. He has been described as "a kind of Coady of Manitoba" (Personal communication J.K. Friesen to Author Nov. 15,1990). Certainly the man wrote and spoke a kind of prose poetry. In this "inspirational" talk, he spoke largely of liberal education and culture as leavening agents in the lives of people. He touched along the way on the potential role of the schools, libraries, universities, the mass media, voluntary organizations, hopitals and (shades of the depression) work camps as providers of support for adult learning. He placed a vision of a richer life before his audience: "If we can only do what we came here to do, this may be a day of new beginnings...for some of us who live in this wide prairie country" (p.3). And indeed out of this meeting came the formation of what I believe to be the earliest adult education association in Canada, one which as far as I can tell lasted only until the outbreak of WW II (England 1980).

"Father Jimmy" Tomkins was of course the intellectual and spiritual founding figure of the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia, whose roots went back at least to his *Knowledge for the People* (1921) and which was formally put in motion with the establishment of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in 1928. The article dealt with here (1935) was published in a bulletin of the Cooperative League of New York and is relatively short. It does not mention Antigonish, but dwells instead on the basic principles of democracy. Leadership must come from the people: "We are not looking primarily for leaders. What we want is a people" (1935:5). The emphasis is on mobilizing the intelligence of the common people and building "from the bottom up". Thorndike's research is mentioned as evidence of the fact that adults can learn and cooperative organizations are called upon to "give serious attention" to adult education, in order to realize "the vast amount of latent talent and energy that awaits release to be used for the common good" (1935:5). This was very much the message of the Antigonish leaders, and was to find eloquent expression again later in the decade in M.M. Coady's *Masters of Their Own Destiny* (1939).

F.G. Thomas' article appeared in the *Quarterly* of the World Association for Adult Education and contained the impressions of an Englishman who attended the conference in Toronto in 1934 which took the decision to form the Canadian Association for Adult Education. He had travelled some in Eastern and Central Canada on his way to the meeting and was clearly struck by the hinterland nature of the country, the "terrifying world" of the frontier, the presence of "wild things" and the fact that in this largely empty land, "silence falls so easily back". "Thus, though the conference met in a modern city, the problems were primarily those of the hinterland" (p.75). Thomas provides brief summaries of what he heard at the conference about Frontier College, the Antigonish Movement (the longest account), University Extension in Alberta, Toronto and Montreal, workers' education (including the W.E.A.), the Women's Institutes, a sanitorium, handicraft organizations, and other groups. He had several interesting impressions of the Canadian scene, commenting, for instance that the different regions had produced different approaches: "In the Maritime Provinces they have utilized with success the Group method with Group leaders; while in the West they have developed more fully the modern machinery of education" (p.90). He saw Canadian adult education, by contrast with Britain, committed to serving "the *whole* of the people in society", not just selected groups (p.85). He adds a wonderfully English statement: "The University, rightly or wrongly, has a responsibility for its unresponsive and unacademic citizen" (p.85). He describes the decision of the conference to proceed towards the formation of a national association, pays tribute to the leadership of William Dunlop, but shows no sign of being aware of the strong influence of the American Association and the Carnegie Corporation on the proceedings he witnessed (Armstrong 1969; Lotz & Welton 1987). (He did, unfortunately seem to be under the impression that Alberta was west of the Rockies.)

One project which was undertaken as part of preparing the way for the formation of the CAAE was a national survey of adult education activities, the first such survey attempted. It was carried out by eight leaders in the field, and organized and edited by Peter Sandiford of the University of

Toronto. This book length study (1935) was published by the University of Toronto, in a typescript form. Each chapter (on for instance university extension, vocational education, women's organizations, the unemployed, music and drama, health education) took the reader on a cross-country tour, utilizing input from the various researchers, who operated by region. To a present day researcher, it borders on the comical to find Sandiford beginning his report by lamenting the lack of clarity in the definition of adult education. He was concerned about the boundaries between formal and adult education, and wished to exclude from consideration any dimensions of the field which he considered "trivial" rather than serious. He was in part separating adult education from adult learning. There are many fascinating insights into then current thinking about adult education to be drawn from this ambitious study, but only a very few can be noted here. One was the prominence given in the introduction to Thorndike's relatively recently published research (1928) on adult learning capacity. In his summary chapter, Sandiford identifies finance as the most crucial key to successful ventures in adult eeucation and he points to publicly-subsidized programs as generally the most successful and sustained activity in the field. What he terms "informed and enthusiastic leadership" (ch.XX,p.3) is the second major factor in success, but he doesn't develop the idea. Strong coordination of services at the provincial level is called for, as is a closer integration of all types and levels of publicly-sponsored education. The public sector of the field could be coordinated under a Provincial Director of Adult Education. He calls for the coordination at the provincial level of "all voluntary agencies conducting adult eeucation" (ch.XX,p.7). He ends expressing the conviction that adult education, properly organized, "is the solution to the great problem--how to restore, maintain and enhance the morale of the people" (loc cit).

The culmination of efforts to form a national adult education association is reflected in an article by the chief architect and first President of that body, W.J. Dunlop, which appeared in the Bulletin of the World Association in May of 1936 (Dunlop 1936). He recounted briefly the events surrounding the founding conference of the CAAE in June of 1935 and devoted most of his article to what amounts to a summary of the Sandiford Survey. As well, however, he quotes at length from a statement about the Association by Sir Robert Falconer, the Honorary President. Falconer attributed the need for adult education to two factors: "the application of science" and "the insistent demand for a better social order" (In Dunlop 1936:2). He adds a third factor which had arisen "of late", the "enforced leisure" which had resulted from the introduction of machinery and "recently due to the rapid and desolating increase of unemployment" (loc cit). Related to these Depression conditions, Falconer stressed the dangers inherent in them: "Material distress is like dry stubble over which fire will rage when a spark drops on it and passions sweep it along, rising as they go" (ibid:3). In his closing comments about the newly-established CAAE, Dunlop refers to it as a coordinating agency, as did its founders, apparently having no glimmer of the remarkable transformation which was soon to take place under the leadership of the first Director, E.A. Corbett.

Robert England had taken over the Directorship of the newly-created Extension Department of the University of British Columbia in 1936. Early the following year, he was called upon to give a major address to a prestigious "town and gown" organization, the Vancouver Institute. It was an opportunity to speak about the role of adult education in contemporary society and to present his vision of university extension work. One notable aspect of his address (in that such matters are not discussed in most other statements of the period) are the needs of certain special groups--illiterates, the under-educated, immigrants, unemployed, deaf, blind and otherwise disabled. He went on to stress particularly the concepts of citizenship--as seen by dictatorial regimes and democracies--stressing the value of liberal and humanistic education (the "Disinterested Education" of his titlte) and of seeing adult students "not so much as pupils as sharers" (England 1937:13). England also reflects his period in stressing the value of the group as a setting for learning. He ended by linking the goals of university extension with the humanistic tradition.

The seventh and last of our selections is the shortest, an editorial in the second issue of Adult Learning, the CAAE's new journal. The statement was written by H.F. Munro, the Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia, who had succeeded Dunlop as President of the CAAE. He refers to the benefits of adult education largely in terms of individual development. Education is "co-extensive with life" and "can bring personality to fruition" (Munro 1937:2). He states without qualification that "the essence of adult education is the study group" and predicts that "more and more, cooperative methods will come to prevail" (p.2,3). The main goals are wisdom and the enlargement of the person's intellectual frontiers.

Themes

There are many significant themes which may be found in these documents, but only four will be identified. The first arises from a question concerning to what extent these papers reflect their times. One would expect to find a stronger sense of the mid-thirties as a "time of troubles" in Canadian society than emerges here. There is passing reference to education for the unemployed and Falconer's comments which raise the spectre of political revolution, and a few others, but there is less I expected about building a new society. One knows that voluntary organizations, some of the churches and political groups were in fact working at this task, but there is relatively little of this reflected in these documents. This perhaps says something about adult education and adult educators in this period, but as well may be a product of the documents selected.

There is a great deal here about the functions and philosophy of adult education. The two themes which come through most strongly are individual self-development and citizenship education. Although as I have said there is little here about the reconstruction of society, there are many references to the creation of fully functioning citizens, and in the case of Tompkins, to a philosophy of democratic life which counts on the wisdom and the ability of the ordinary people--to act, and to produce the leaders required.

There are interesting reflections on professionalism and methodology in these statements. Training in adult education methods and procedures is not even mentioned, but there is a clear assumption that expertise and understanding will be required. One can only assume that it was expected that these things would be learned on the job, by persons whose training or experience was in some other field. There is a suggestion of the need for professionally trained leadership in Sandiford's call for provincial leadership and coordination of the field. With regard to methodology, the emphasis was on the peer study group as the setting for learning, as was to be stressed later by others, such as Coady (1939) and Corbett (1957).

A fourth notable feature of these documents is the awareness which is present of the fact that great deeds were being performed in Canadian adult education. Antigonish, Frontier College, University and Agricultural Extension, the Women's Institutes, the YMCA and YWCA, and some others, were recognized as doing truly outstanding work.

Discussion

1. There seemed at this time to be clear recognition of two main streams or sets of functions of adult education. There was much emphasis on education as a response to individual needs and interests, and also for social critique and participation.
2. There was apparent recognition on the part of at least some Canadians of the greatness of certain of our achievements in the field. Were these people immune to the well known Canadian phenomenon of not recognizing our own achievements until foreigners told us of their value?
3. Webster Cotton (1968) has provided evidence of the emergence in the U.S.A. of a more professional spirit in adult education, beginning in the mid-1920s. It would appear that almost all of the documents studies here belong to what Cotton terms the ealier, "idealistic" phase. The only exception, perhaps, are some comments from Sandiford, and he, significantly, spoke from outside the field of practice, being a research psychologist. I have argued elsewhere (1987) that the shift to a more professionalized field did not begin in earnest in Canada until the 1950s. There is certainly ample evidence in these selections of the more idealistic view. Of all the authors whose work is dealt with here, only Sandford sounds a strongly scientific or professional note, though England shows some signs of this in places.
4. Though the voices of Coady and Corbett, two giants of the field in Canada, are not contained in these selections, many of the ideas we associate with their work are clearly represented.
5. I close on a matter which is related to several points already made. It has to do with where the leadership of adult education is going to come from. There seemed to be an assumption on the part of Sandiford that there would be a role for trained specialists in the field of education; he does not mention adult education in this connection. Most of the leaders whose work was included here appear to assume that specialists from other fields--the "natural leaders", one might say--would continue to provide leadership for the field. The matter of training for adult educators simply does not arise, though Dunlop refers to the professional expertise of librarians and their importance to the field. The most specific reference to leadership, apart from Sandiford, comes from Tompkins, and has already been quoted. Tompkins expresses confidence that in response to a broadly based educational program, the people will "throw up the man who is able to do the job" (Tompkins 1935:4). This vision of leadership from the people raises important questions for us in the field, in these days of the increasing professionalization of some parts of adult education on the one hand, and the emerging role of "popular education" and the New Social Movements on the other.

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CAN CASAE LEARN FROM UK EXPERIENCE?

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UK Liberal Adult education in crisis and the lessons for Canada and CASAE.
L'education des adultes an Royanne-Uni, une institution liberale en crise: Une lecon pour le Canada et l'ACEEA

What can adult educators in Canada learn from recent UK experience? It can be argued that adult education in both countries is rooted in liberalism although Canadian adult education provision is heavily influenced by US concerns for vocational relevance.[1] In the last decade British adult education has also been pushed towards vocational training. An understanding of this process, and the reactions to it, may aid adult educators in Canada defend and promote liberal adult education traditions.

This discussion is based on the premise that there is a distinction between education and training, between liberal and vocational studies. Some adult educators might want to argue that such distinctions have no practical application or that there are elements of liberal education in vocational training. But to argue that, one first needs to recognize the differences. Nor is liberal adult education to be interpreted as simply providing adults with the opportunity to study the humanities. As the authors of the 1919 Report (Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction 1918-19) put it:

> **"We do not wish to underrate the value of increased technical efficiency or the desirability of increasing productivity. But we believe that a short sighted insistence upon these things will defeat its object. We wish to emphasize the need for a great development of non-technical studies, partly because we think that it would assist the growth of a truer conception of technical education but, more especially, because it seems to us vital to provide the fullest opportunities for personal development and for the realization of a higher standard of citizenship" 2**

The understanding that liberal adult education can aid personal development and contribute to a healthier pluralist democracy has informed its development in the UK and Canada. It has provided a focus which is both individualistic and collectivist, a belief that liberal adult education should develop critical awareness and inform social action.

The UK adult education framework: a new ERA?

It is difficult to talk about 'national' developments in a UK context because of the fragmentation of 'adult education'. We can identify some of the major providers, Local Education Authorities (LEAs), Local Colleges, Polytechnics, Voluntary Agencies, Adult Residential Colleges, University Adult Education (UAE) Departments, the Open University (OU), Birkbeck (London University), and Training Agencies.

This list does not exhaust the potential or actual providers or partners, such as trade unions, engaged in adult educational activities. But more important in terms of understanding what is happening in Britain we have to recognize that changes in the funding of say the WEA, adult colleges or UAE does not directly affect LEA provision and vice versa. Therefore although all providers are part of what we might want to call an adult education movement, they are not subject to the same national developments.

The Government likes to present the 1988 **Education Reform Act (ERA)** as the start of a new 'era' in educational provision. Views differ as to the eventual impact of ERA on schools, but what is certain is the Act did not open up a new era of opportunity for adult education since it largely ignored adult provision. The minister responsible rejected requests for a specific duty to be placed on LEAs to provide adult education, as well as rejecting requests for earmarked funding for voluntary groups.

The 1988 Act does however affect provision of adult education in a number of ways. For example, section 81 contains a reference to "securing provision for adequate facilities for further education" and that included adult education. Therefore LEAs do have a duty to provide some adult education, but what will "adequate" provision mean in practice? One local councillor was heard to say that it was "what we can afford after we have done all the things we have to do".

The 1944 Education Act did make a reference to 'educational associations' - such as the WEA - being granted educational facilities (Section 42 (4) but that is not repeated in the 1988 Act therefore there is no extension of rights in the new legislation.

However the Act's influence on adult education is much greater than Section 81 implies. To understand that we have to take a brief look at what is happening in schools.[3] For example what might be the impact of local management of schools - introduced in place of LEA control? Will school governing bodies grant adult education access to "their" schools for adult evening classes? Because no longer are these facilities seen as the community's administered on behalf of all the community by an accountable LEA. Now it is to be the parents of children at the school - elected on a four-yearly basis - who are responsible for the maintenance and conservation of school resources. (The actual process of handing over control started with the 1986 Education Act but financial responsibility was introduced in 1988 with implementation from April 1990).

The legislation has also led to a mean approach to calculating Full Time Equivalents (FTE) for colleges and therefore the funding base per FTE. For example, up to 500 part-time students count for funding purposes as only equivalent to 40 full-time. Is that going to encourage institutions to expand part-time adult education?[4]

However if adult educators are to be squeezed by school governors then adult educators need to strike first by getting governors to accept that they have an obligation to provide facilities and support education beyond school.

Employment Training (ET) is the latest extension of the "creeping domination" of vocationalism within adult/further/higher education in the UK. No one denies the importance of training opportunities; or the need to extend the skills-base of UK workers; or indeed to extend those skills training opportunities to adults. However, what should concern adult educators is why vocational training has to be at the expense of other adult education provision, also why vocational study is often presented in terms of denying the value of liberal educational insights.[5]

Some LEAs are trying to extend ET and improve its training and education base; Leeds provides an example of this approach. However, because of limited resources their community based continuing education service - formally one of the best in the UK - is being colonised in an attempt to make ET work.

Confronted with the 1988 Act and ET what can adult educators do? Certainly they should start by arguing that their education provision is distinct and valuable in its own terms and it is needed as well as a decent ET scheme. It is worth noting that most countries which are thought to be better at skills training are also better at providing general education because it prepares workers for job changes by making them more adaptable.

The **demand for access** has come from the 'bottom up' and we can talk about national developments only in the sense of recognition and support nationally for the importance of access by the Department of Education and Science (DES).

Access in the UK context has different meanings - big 'A' access is access to higher education, often degree level and to specific further education courses. Big 'A' programmes are run widely at many further and higher education institutions (colleges, polytechnics and now increasingly at universities) often with the intent of improving accessibility to their own FE and HE programmes. Little 'a' access includes new opportunities, fresh start and some accreditation schemes, it aims to make adult education 'accessible' and generally opens up routes for students to more of it. There is an overlap between the two but usually the little 'a' is more concerned with rectifying educational disadvantage and less concerned with qualifications as an end result.

Both types of access are progressing. In particular there is more higher education provision including part-time degree schemes and mature entry to existing courses which disregard traditional entry requirements. We can also point to open college schemes (Manchester Open School, Yorkshire Open Learning Federation), which involve credit transfers - on the Canadian model - and some accreditation for 'life experience'; as well as the experience over ten to twelve years of new opportunities courses for women.

However, it could be a mistake for all adult education to be caste in 'access' terms because it could limit traditional liberal adult education classes including community and collective education iniatives (social purpose/social movement adult education) and perhaps squeeze some traditional 'leisure' subjects, pushing everything towards qualifications and eventually vocationalism.

UAE in Crisis[6]

By the time the Russell Committee reported in 1973 (Adult Education: A Plan For Development)[7] UAE had shifted away from a concern with educating the working class to provision for the mainly middle class who already enjoyed reasonable initial education. Russell however restated the 1919 objectives within its opening paragraph. It was uncritical of actual UAE provision and simply supported a view that there should be more of it although it commentated that universities should be turned outwards to provide greater access to the broader community.

The origins of the current crisis can be found the failure to expand in the 1960s and in the university pressure to conflate UAE in the 1970s - reduce longer courses and social purpose education and explore post experience vocational education (PEVE). The contracts of internal university staff were not changed to include an extramural commitment and the funding problems associated with a stuttering economy ensured that the Russell report did not become a new launch pad for UAE.

Although recurrent and lifelong education became a focus for discussions amongst adult educators it was easily diverted into a continuing education focus which essentially referred to post initial education and reflected economic purpose. The emphasis was on PEVE and departments that wanted to survive economic stringency set out to make some money.

The Conservative governments of the 1980s and 1990s has resulted in major cuts to adult education funding, both to the direct funding of UAE (from the Department of Education and Science) and to university funding. It also represents a change in ideology which ignores the criticism that UK universities are worse off than those of other (economic competitor) countries in favour of targeted funding with external fund raising from industry and commerce, alongside an obsessive concern with internal efficiency. Universities were to be made to serve - more directly than ever - the needs of 'the economy'. UAE was to be paid by results, the number of effective student hours determined how much each department got from a reduced national grant.

The impact of these measures is perhaps typically illustrated at Leeds Department of External Studies which is a traditional extramural department with a commitment to social purpose liberal adult education as well as an innovative track record in a number of other areas. Cuts in staff has reduced the FTE tutoring staff from 30 at the beginning of the decade, to 22 in 1988, to 16.5 in September 1990. An extream example is provided by Hull University. In the summer of 1990 they closed their adult education department and dispersed staff to internal departments.

What are the chances for UAE survival into the twenty first century? Clearly PEVE will prosper although even here core funding is needed to sustain a planned programme. Universities are becoming concerned with attracting mature students to mainstream programmes so access and part-time degree work will find a place within some UAE departments. These concerns for improving the flow of mature students through university may provide the last chance to salvage a broadly based and reasonably resourced liberal adult education programme in The Great Tradition (the emphasis on liberal humane studies, particularly social studies, on non-vocational courses, on education for reflective citizenship and a special focus on serving the working class). They may be sufficiently powerful to provide protection and nurture for non-certificate liberal programmes within a diverse continuing education department. Some 'leisure' subjects attract enough fee-payers to sustain themselves - archaeology for example - and some innovative projects, although low down on government policy concerns in real terms, may attract some funds (conscience money?) to aid a programme with educationally disadvantaged groups.

There has been a recent revival by UAE leaders, essentially the Universities Council for Adult and Continuing Education (UCACE) in arguing for funding. The intensity of the threat to the whole structure and purpose of UAE brought together traditionalists and radicals; and UCACE operated with more dynamic and vigour than ever before to represent the collective and diverse interests of the field as a whole. This did not involve a sacrificing of overtly radical educational goals - indeed in some ways there was a radicalisation of UCACE collectively but this change may have already have run its course.

The relative failure of the UAE departments to meet the educational needs of the broader community in the 1980s has compounded cuts in WEA and local educational authority provision for community adult education.

Therefore if access is to be defined as access to deeper insights and greater understandings of areas of knowledge, and not just access to another higher education course or the provision of short courses and day-schools, these trends are worrying. Indeed if UAE is to be judged by its commitment to 'lifelong learning' meaning more than just giving a once only second chance and learning related to vocational needs and certification then UAE still is in crisis.

A Plurality of provision in Britain and Canada

UAE provision in Britain and Canada should of course contribute to access and to part-time degree opportunities for adults and it should do so in partnership with other adult education providers. University adult educators must argue the case for opening up the university to greater continuing and professional education; updating and renewing knowledge can in any case be a two-way process with university staff benefiting from current professional experience. But the universities must also be prepared to defend and extend lifelong learning which culturally enriches adult life and tests knowledge against experience. The problem so far is that many universities agree with the conservative 'market' view of education and accept the replacement of a broadly based liberal provision.

Is Adult Education in the UK becoming more like that in Canada? It could be argued that in general terms the two systems of adult education have been similar for some time - adults in Canada have access to a range of providers which include colleges, university extension faculties, some independent and voluntary agencies, and part-time degree and distance learning programmes of mainstream universities and dedicated distance learning universities - such as Athabasca. Programmes of study also range across work with the unemployed, trade union education, access courses and part-time degrees. The issues discussed by adult educators are also familiar - gender bias, participation, basic literacy, delivery systems, etc.

However, overall and not surprisingly, adult education provision in Canada is much closer to a US model than a Northern European one. In Canada it has been more common for adult education programmes to be credit-bearing and addressing vocational needs rather than non-credit concerned primarily with promoting a critical approach to knowledge for its own sake or addressing community or collective needs. Where these type of Extension courses exist in Canada they tend to be short - perhaps 6 weeks. Another example of the difference is in workers' education or industrial studies for workers, which in Canada, is likely to be interpreted as work-based learning.

The problem is that from a pluralist, let alone radical, perspective the overall shift in the emphasis of adult education in the UK in the last ten years is at the expense of liberal adult education. In some respects these changes may have gone further than developments in Canada (at the time of writing UofA has announced a cut of 2/3 in Extension Studies programme funding) in the sense that they are not only responding to economic needs but are increasingly being "directed towards priorities determined by the state".[8]

Conclusions

Adult educators need to think critically about the social and gender composition of their classes and what the students do when they attend (these issues are probably more consistently addressed in the Canadian literature). They need to improve the networks within their own profession (perhaps along the lines of the Edmonton Adult Learning Network)[9]. Adult educators in both countries need to get involved in campaigning for a better future.

Rather than seeing the Thatcher/Major/Mulroney agenda as a potential defeat, adult educators need to rally forces and put adult education into the forefront of public policy concerns. This has started in the UK in a small way with the SIT/TGWU booklet [10] and campaign on Paid Educational Leave [11] and with broader support such initiatives can help shift the focus from defensive attitudes to the alternatives. Such political alliances have a stronger track record in Canada than in Britain and the opportunity exists within Canada's volatile and differentiated political structure to promote a broadly based adult education. One lesson for CASAE to be learnt from UK experience is to act now!

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[2] H Wiltshire ed, The 1919 Report: the Final and Interim Reports of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction 1918-19, Nottingham studies in the Theory and Practice of the Education of Adults, University of Nottingham, 1980

[3] J Haviland ed, Take Care Mr Baker!, London: Fourth Estate, 1988

[4] See theme articles: The Education Reform Act in The Industrial Tutor, Autumn, 1988 which discuss the impact on adult education

[5] H Saad, S Harrison, M O'Callagan, Employment Training, Adults Learning, Sample Issue, 1988/89

[6] For a detailed discussion see J McIlroy and B Spencer University Adult Education in Crisis, (Leeds University Studies in Adult and Continuing Education, 1988)

[7] Department of Education and Science, Adult Education: A Plan for Development Report of the Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Lionel Russell, HMSO, 1973

[8] See B Westfall's review of P Jarvis ed, Britain: Policy and Practice in Continuing Education in CJUCE Spring 1990 p77

[9] D Haughey, The Edmonton Adult Learning Network, CJUCE, Fall 1989

[10] Society of Industrial Tutors/Transport and General Workers Union, The Impossible Dream? The Future for Paid Educational Leave in Britain, London, 1989

[11] J McIlroy, Educational Leave: Have We Missed The Next Train? Industrial Tutor, vol 5 no 1, 1990

Understanding Social Education in Japan
A Canadian Perspective

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Abstract

The education of adults in Japan can be understood only by understanding its place in Social Education. Social Education represents one of the most inclusive attempts to direct learning in the modern world. Its relationship to the maintenance of a high-context culture makes it of special interest to Canadians.

Résumé

Comprendre l'éducation des adultes en Japon, il est nécessaire de comprendre le but et le fonction de l'Education Sociale. Celui-la représents une des plus inclusive efforts de diriger l'apprentissage dans le monde contemporaine. La relation a la maintenance d'une culture d'un contexte fort possède pour Canadiens une signification spéciale.

On June 29, 1990, the Japanese parliament passed the Law for the Promotion of Lifelong Learning. Japan is one of the few countries in the world to have introduced such legislation. Though, to our knowledge, no translation of the entire law is yet available in English, its main ingredients can be deduced from some external comments, and from the history of Education, particularly of Social Education, in Japan.

> In order to carry out policies and measures for facilitating lifelong learning activities in formal education, social education, and in the field of culture, the Social Education Bureau was abolished and a Lifelong Learning Bureau was set up which comprises the Lifelong Learning Promotion Division, Social Education Division, Youth Education Division, Learning Resources and Information Division, and the Women's Education Division. (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1989, p. 95)

As has been observed by others, Japan does nothing by halves. But it is only within this context, and more specifically within the context of the development of Social Education in Japan, that we can understand the purposes and function of the education of adults.

> Under the present education system of Japan, however, school education is strictly defined and clearly distinguished from educational activities other than school education. Accordingly the term "adult education" is seldom used to cover all those educational activities mentioned above. (In-school Adult Education; Out-of-school Adult Education). Instead the term "Social Education" is generally used to mean all education other than school education, and the term "adult education" is used to mean that part of social education intended only for adults. Accordingly, adult education in Japan, is somewhat different from that in other countries. (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1972, p. v.)

Only by understanding that adult education is firmly imbedded in the larger domain of articulated Social Education, can we understand its meaning and function in Japan.

What we find here in contrast to the "common law" traditions of British-derived societies, with their concern for process and essential open-endedness, is a classic version of the "normative" or civil law society, with its emphasis on a vision of ideal citizenship, personality, and identity. The images of "membership", in its fullest sense, that we receive from Japan with respect to employment in large concerns—images that have been enthusiastically and vigorously advanced as reasons for, or causes of, Japan's remarkable industrial and economic success, can be extended to the entire society. They can be so extended at the very least in terms of Japanese aspirations as they are reflected in social education, adult and otherwise. The significance of the application of the term Japan Inc. to the country as a whole takes on, for us, additional significance.

Social Education has its roots in the immediate post-war period signified by the passage of the Social Education Law of 1949. An official document states that "Social Education in Japan during the post-war years has been provided for the development of democracy on the basis of ideals and precepts set forth in the Constitution and the Basic Education Law". (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1972, p. 1) A formidable academic critic of the degree to which Social Education was captured by the demands of the economy and conservative influences in Japan in the fifties and sixties argues that, "the purpose of the social education law was defined to serve self-education activities among people with suitable facilities, limiting the authoritative influences upon adult education so as to defend it against state power". (Usui, 1990, p. 2)

The Law was amended in 1959, and a special report by the Social Education Council, Report on Social Education in a Rapidly Changing Society was published in 1972. The emphasis in the latter Report on lifelong education presumably led to the legislation of 1990, though the exchange of the word Education for the word Learning in the 1990 legislation is of considerable significance.

It is difficult for a Canadian, including this one, to imagine, much less accept the scope of Social Education, as it is conceived in Japan. The 1972 Report re-emphasized and extended its domain, as follows.

> The term social education is often associated only with the activities of such organizations as youth associations, women's associations etc., those of such establishments as public halls, libraries etc. and those of various types of classes and training courses...There will probably be no change in the future in the important role played by such conventional activities, in social education, but if we insist on limiting social education to such a narrow range of activities we will be unable to live up to the general expectations for social education in the rapidly changing society of the future. Social education in the future should be broadly understood as a general term for all the activities aimed at educationally improving various types of study in every available opportunity and place in people's life. With respect to social education it is necessary to understand that it should be provided for both young and old, that it should include content ranging from basic to advanced, that should range from individual study through the reading of books or watching of educational television programs to discussion with friends or participation in group sports, and that the content should include not only intellectual subjects but also physical training and cultural activities. (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1972, p. 8)

While the breathtaking inclusiveness of this statement is somewhat alleviated by the concluding statement that, "this does not necessarily mean that all learning activities should be regarded as social education" (Ibid., p. 9), it is difficult to imagine what learning has been excluded. The difficulty is reinforced by a statement from the later, 1990 document, that "it should be defined also in broader terms of all activities which are conducted to enhance educationally people's learning activities carried out on all occasions and at all places in their lives." (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1989, p. 101)

Educational administration in Japan, including social education, exists at three levels—national, prefectural, and municipal. The patterns of facilitation—and the lack of it—are poignantly familiar to Canadians, though the national government in Japan is not required to utilize the same instruments of stealth and financial seduction as is the national government in Canada. Agencies of social education, and their provenance are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Facilities	Total	National	Prefect.	Mun.	Priv.
Public Halls	17,520	-	-	17,502	18
Public Libraries	1,642	-	69	1,543	30
Museums	676	27	94	230	325
Youth Houses	437	13	153	271	-
Children's Centres	217	11	77	129	-
Women's Education Centres	195	1	12	127	55
A-V Centres & Libraries	843	-	66	777	-

Source: Outline of Education in Japan, 1989, p. 24

The distribution of provenance is interesting in itself but too complex for the time available here. At the heart of the social education system is the Citizens Public Hall or Kominkan. They have no precise counterpart in Canada. Almost exclusively, municipally operated, they were designed to be learner centred, providing both varied instruction and a location for local groups to organize and hold their own meetings. They exhibit a wide range of resources, from the "classy" facilities of the central Kominkan in Osaka, associated with a cultural centre, and a women's centre, to a much less opulent centre on the outskirts of Tokyo, reminiscent of a branch of the YMCA. They have been developing slowly but steadily since their inception in 1949. They are staffed,presumably with trained Social Educators, many of them school teachers with a few weeks training provided by the National Training Institute for Social Education. Though each of the national universities, and some private universities have graduate programs in social education, the numbers of graduates are relatively small. The best estimate is that approximately 7000 graduates are now employed in Social Education, a relatively small number given the scope of the enterprise, and the positions available. Special note should be given to the Children and Youth Centres reported in Table 1. Since the Youth Centres also cater to adults, they fall within our sphere of interest. Residential in character, some such as the Centre at Mt. Aso in Kyushu accommodating upwards of 400 at a time, they perhaps represent the inner heart of the "socializing" potential of social education. A Canadian cannot avoid speculation, envious speculation at that, over how such a network of centres could have contributed, could still contribute to Canadian unity.

> The Kominkans have had a variable history. Usui refers to the early years when, "these group activities joined in, so to speak a grass roots education movement, and flourished till the period of the economic high growth of Japan in the 1960's. Together with the reformed school system, which raised the ratio of students who went on to a higher stage of education, the movement played a vital role in economic growth, though it was not always favourably received by the established authorities, because it was the origin of such various kinds of social movement in the following decades as: for consumerism, for ecoactivity, for peace, for women's liberation, against nuclear weapons, against expansion of armaments, and so on." (Usui, 1990, p. 3)

Since that time, they have, apparently contented themselves with more formal, less radical activities, and are now playing a substantial role in meeting the needs of newcomers in Japan, especially in language teaching. What Usui describes may have been a sort of "Prague Spring" for the Kominkans, and for social education in general.

The contradictions are, in a way, built in to the Kominkans, especially as publicly financed institutions. On the one hand, a program staff, with limited training in "facilitation" competes for space and time with self-directed local groups. Direction usually prevails over encouragement, in these circumstances, and what evidence could be gathered suggested no exception. The principal function of the Kominkan is always endangered.

The Kominkans enjoy threats also from the private sector. Japan practices what can best be described as multi-educationalism. It is an immensely varied system, public and private, multi-sponsored, and with little cross-over among the various systems. While universities are now making way, in a limited way, for mature students, there is much less demand for formal accreditation form participants in the other systems, for example the tens of thousands we are familiar with who are trained and educated within the industrial system. The social education system, therefore, of which industrial education is considered a part, carries the burden of unification that is now carried by our formal education system.

Any Canadian visitor to Japan must conclude that Japan is dominated by two interrelated phenomena, of particular resonance. They are ethnic homogeneity, what Hall terms a "high context culture", (Hall, 1985, p. 161) and the Japanese version of the "protestant work ethic". Both are now endangered. Affluence is breeding generations of Japanese with rising aspirations, and partially as a result of that, and a very low birth rate, Japan is turning to increased immigration, both legal and illegal. Both of these phenomena will put the capacity of the Social Education system to its most extreme test. Canadians are learning, painfully, what some of the learning demands are of the transition to a low context culture, and even more painfully of the problems of trying to combine a low-context culture and a determinedly high context culture on one political union.

Japan provides an example of the deliberate direction of multiple forms of adult learning. Revisionist theorists in Canada argue that what appears to be learner centred, and therefore encouraged rather than directed learning in Canada is in fact directed, surreptitiously, by economic and subsequently political interests outside of education. The Japanese experience, especially as recounted by Usui's analysis seems to reinforce the argument that education rarely controls its own objectives, by itself. But it also argues for the value of self-conscious direction, as embodied in Social Education in Japan, if only to make it continually clear where the contradictions are. We, in Canada know something about the rise of "multi-culturalism" that might be of help to Japan. Japan, on the other hand, knows something about the direction of adult education that could be if urgent assistance to us.

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Apprenticing in a Thesis Support Group: A Peer Mentorship Model

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Peer mentorship can enhance women's development at both the practical and developmental levels. This discussion focuses on the outcome of three women's experiences in a six-year support group oriented toward thesis task completion. Commitment, growth, and the development of three skill areas --- intellectual, interpersonal, and self-management -- are discussed.
Le conseil des pareils peut améliorer le développement de la femme aux niveaux practiques et développementals. Cette discussion concentre sur les résultats des expériences de trois femmes dans un groupe d'appui de six ans, dout le but est de finir leur dissertation. L'engagement, le développement personnel et le développement de trois domaines de compétences, intellectual, interpersonnel, et l'autodirection sont discutés.

Background:

The literature on thesis completion documents the well known rigours of the dissertation process. High rates of incompletion, seven years on average to complete, and stressful personal issues such as the perceived inaccessibility of the faculty advisor are widely recognized problems in graduate schools. For women seeking to experience a path of professional apprenticeship through the completion of a doctoral thesis, issues of self-concept, self-doubt, and personal authority are especially marked (Cooper, 1982; Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988). In recent years, an explosion of interest in women's development as an aim of education has led to reappraisals of women's strengths in such learning preferences as "connected knowing"; learning through midwifery models; and learning collaboratively, through affirmation, support, and dialogue (Belenky et al, 1986).

These are interesting times for those us exploring such models of learning. Over six years ago, a group of three women from significantly different backgrounds -- the three authors -- encountered each other in their first graduate seminar on qualitative research methods in the social sciences. It was an auspicious meeting, yet no one grasped this insight at the time. Instead, what was most exhilarating and most terrifying was the circumstance that all three women shared. Each of us hoped to attain a doctorate in education. Hence our presence in the class, one that was reputed to be both intellectually demanding and interdisciplinary in its scope.

Although the path to attain the doctorate is marked for all to read by the formal requirements spelled out in the graduate syllabus of the student's institution of learning, one's internal markings, one's knowledge of rites of passage, of competencies to be attained, are indeed few in comparison to the tidy logic of the printed page. What project were we to be engaged in? How did one come up with a thesis topic? How did one make the fateful choice of a thesis supervisor? As we looked around at one another in that first round of discussions, as we picked up the strain in each other's voices, it was plain that both the anxiety and the excitement of the graduate student's journey were shared. And underneath the most obvious and most correct of the questions were also the less correct, the psychologically messy questions that each student was afraid to ask aloud: What if I can't do it? What if I haven't got what it takes? What if I never find a problem worth researching?

It was in the latter realm, the more fragile realm of identity, of self-concept, of self-doubt and self-management, that our fledgling dissertation support group was to carve out its demanding mission statement. Now, six years later, with one of the member's doctoral degree completed and two more satisfyingly close to completion, the group has shaped an understanding of some of the principles, assumptions, and behaviours that constitute effective peer mentorship in the often uncertain and stressful shifting life contexts of qualitative research projects. To share the findings of our hindsight knowledge on this occasion, and to dialogue with others around some of the themes and issues we have raised, is a welcome "gesture of detachment" that chronicles our own unique development in the path of apprenticeship.

Purpose of the Study:

Central to our purpose in this inquiry is our exploration of the internal dynamics of a successful dissertation support group in the larger context of women's development. While it is a truism in group theory that an effective group balances task and process (Johnson and Johnson, 1975), this winning combination over a long haul in individuals' lives can in fact be elusive. Practical and psychological constraints can threaten the intactness of even the best of support groups. For example, over the past six years, the three members of our group have lived in three different locations, have pursued major life changes such as motherhood and marriage, have juggled work commitments with caregiving commitments, and have pursued radically different ideological paradigms in the course of their intellectual development. Given such stresses and constraints -- stresses that any group of graduate students could expect to anticipate -- the factors and principles prolonging the life of the group, and investing it with lasting substance and value to the membership, are worth considering.

Taped and transcribed recordings of a number of the group's meetings helped us to create a data base that formed an alternative to hindsight reflection. Two kinds of data emerged from our recordings: both case study material that dramatically showed group processes at work, as well as the reflective discussions in which we recounted our history, analyzed our findings, and collectively sought to understand our development. Journal notes that several of the group members had kept over the years also sharpened our memories.

As we scrutinized the data, a consensus-seeking approach helped us to settle on the main three principles discussed below. Since each group member has chosen her own "interpretive horizon" (Sullivan, 1984) with which she describes her experience of the group, our method offers three distinct but complementary frameworks for rendering the experience of membership fresh and intelligible.

Commitment to Person: A Central Ethos

Although we did not consciously state it at the time, our instinctive early criteria for group membership did not revolve the choice of thesis topic proposed by other prospective members of the group. Rather, our criteria for inclusion for the fledgling group appeared to be deliberately person-centred from the start. If what was important in a dissertation support group was the quality and excellence of the support, we reasoned, then it was of utmost importance that the quality of comradeship and goodwill was appealing in basic human terms. "I knew I had weak areas", said one member of the group. "I wanted to join with people with abilities in areas other than mine. And I felt I had something to offer. I saw it as an exchange of strengths." As expressed by all three members, a reasonable degree of self-esteem, mixed with noticeable areas of vulnerability, seemed to be a common inner point of departure for participation in the group.

The giving and receiving of support for the purpose of carrying out all of the steps of a dissertation was thus the most obvious stated agenda for membership in the group. Each of us had, in addition, unique wants and needs from the group which were to gradually unfold, to become more coherently expressed over time. And while we began by ostensibly looking out for "number one", our personal agenda rapidly expanded to include a sense of commitment to the group. Such a sense of commitment was comprised of both "personal dedication" and "commitment constraint" (Stanley, 1986). Personal dedication refers to the desire we each felt to maintain or improve the quality of participation in the group. Such dedication was evidenced by an intrinsic desire not only to continue membership in the group but also to work toward the objectives of the group and its members. To devise specific strategies for improving the group, to advance the cause of each woman's project, and to sacrifice time and emotional/intellectual labour for the group's members were some of the stitches that sewed a binding cloth over the course of time. A keen degree of intellectual curiosity in the service of another's research project is a minimum requirement for a thesis support group. For the most part, our group has functioned with such a shared sense of personal dedication.

Yet, personal dedication was clouded at times by the harder realities of complex human needs. A waning of commitment usually occurred in reaction to painful episodes such as interpersonal discord with a group member, feelings of abandonment or exclusion, or the identification of an alternative option outside the group for meeting current needs. At such times, the individual who felt distress tended to participate with "constraint commitment", maintaining her participation largely because there were forces which compelled her to maintain her relationship with the group despite a lowering in her felt personal dedication at the time. The compelling forces were comprised of the benefits which potentially still existed for her in the group; of the quality of commitment she felt by virtue of her values regarding commitment, which are linked to self-concept; and, most importantly, by the commitment which she felt for the other women's projects. Not living up to the commitment, therefore, also involved a degree of personal cost.

Fortunately, our group appeared to have the human resources, skills, and wills to mediate and to reconcile our differences. Interpersonal conflict between two of the group members usually allowed the third to mediate; peer counselling skills grew and developed; and, a willingness to share the truth of one's experience in the process of ironing out personal differences has increased over time. The goodwill required to "hear out" ideological differences is enormous, yet we negotiated these with less righteousness and more affection over time. Gradually the level of growing familiarity, trust, and mutual respect have also created an atmosphere where vulnerabilities that deeply concern the individual and her sense of competence are exposed. And the fact of wounding, of personal vulnerability, in our thinking, figures significantly in the development and growth of both the person and the qualitative research project, for project is inextricably linked to person, a point that is increasingly publicly discussed by those women and men who undertake such research. (Reason and Marshall, 1987). Thus, the ethos of commitment that began in 1985 as a simple hope around thesis completion is a cloth that has stretched considerably, by 1991. For each group member, it has come to include an expanded, layered history with richer points of reference, intellectually speaking, and deeper stores of maturity, emotionally speaking.

The Importance of the Sacred Space

A psychodynamic point of view further speaks to the level of personal growth and development that has been able to flourish in a group such as ours. A psychodynamic framework steers our view of a graduate student's development well out of the arena of instrumental learning, an approach generally associated with study skills, memory work, notetaking, and other cognitive dimensions of learning that have been associated with student success and achievement. It steers our emphasis away from more "objective" views of learning and curricula -- that the topic is somehow to be found "out there", then approved, studied and classified -- to an inside-out approach (Griffin, 1987). Our view of learning, and of topic development, is that it is intensely personal. The subject matter comes from within.

The "container" or the "sacred space" -- a term familiar to us from the Jungians (Woodman, 1985) -- designates a space of possibility, where something new and untried is created. If subject matter is to come from within, a sheltered space is required in which tentative new images, seeds of ideas, can be shared for inspection. Here, inside the safety of a boundaried area, group members can give voice to the new and untried. Here, fears and timidities are expressed; small victories are shared. For us as a group, the physical aspects of the boundaried space were fused to the symbolic, for we actively sought to create aesthetically pleasing settings in which to hold our meetings. "There was always a kind of predictability..the space was always someone's home. There was always an expectation that each of us have a space, a time, a turn; there was always a ritual of hearing someone out; there was the ritual of having a meal together. Because of the predictability, there was also a kind of germination between the times that the container would be activated. There was psychic and intellectual preparation."

For us as women, this sheltered place of retreat buoyed up and accelerated more positive images of ourselves as teachers, researchers, and scholars. Within the container, nourishing images of ourselves were steadily reflected back by our peers, allowing a naming of our strengths. "Without exception, each woman in the group could say that some vision of themselves became clearer in the group. There was always something new evolving. You experience hope. The hope is that you can be yourself in this space, and that you will be observed in the process of your uncovering. Hope starts to spring when one senses that this is a place of possibility. It is a woman's issue when you think of the damaged selves that have been held back, when you think that women are speaking with half their strength."

Is the "sacred space" a tangible place that support groups can create for themselves? The adoption of rituals, contracts, and symbols of fellowship can certainly help to make it so. If what has been created is a private space where the mirroring back of reflections takes place, it is also a place where a series of confirmations can take gradually place, moving the student outward in progressively bolder increments to the public arena. The milestones of achievement, intellectual or otherwise, require respectful acknowledgement, and this the group can work to provide. Typically, there is an absence of senior mentor figures in many women's lives. For one group member, the rituals and aesthetics of the sacred space were movingly extended when, in preparation for her thesis defence, group members spontaneously provided food, shelter, prayers and flowers. By the time that she defended her thesis, she had secured this sense of place within herself. She learned that she had "found her voice" and defended competently. For another woman, the numerous qualifiers she had constantly used in her prose to deflect possible criticism finally disappeared altogether, making her written text more clear and direct. She, too, had found her voice on the written page after becoming more clearly heard in the safety of the sacred space.

To What or Whom Do We Apprentice?

If we have made it appear, in the above discussions, that the task is secondary to the person in a successful thesis support group, we would boldly like to claim the opposite principle: relationship also follows task. We invite you to consider the apparent contradiction by comparing your own best experiences in groups that have worked. In our work as apprentices bonded together in the pursuit of intellectual competence, we consider ourselves to be "in project" (Sartre, 1965; Sullivan, 1984). To be in project is to follow the quest plot, an exciting prospect for women. Project, as we define it, is larger than the thesis topic per se. It is also the self-in-project, in action in the world, making the choices that will define the self, of which the subject matter of the thesis is only one choice. For one of the members of the group, to whom the actual task of writing the thesis came relatively easily, the larger and thornier project was the task of defining herself as a professional and using her spoken voice with less inhibition and apology. For this she required intensive peer assistance at points of change and crisis. To assist each other "in project" is the task; it is a whole greater than the sum of the parts. Project-making and project-shaping is contracted for a definite period of time; the working out of the project is contained in the "sacred space" outlined above. In this sense, we have come to conclude that relationships in such a group are expendable, because it is our link to one another's project that is essential. "It sounds harsh", mused a group member, seeking to explicate the nature of the task orientation of our group, "but it's the project that counts. The energy can become diffused if the group is too friendship-oriented."

In practice, the dedication to project in a support group requires vigilance and discipline. To prevent energies from leaking away from the project and out of the container, we struggled to channel thought and feeling toward the direction of one another's project. Emotions of sadness and joy, anger and frustration, or just human gossip and trivia all found a legitimate place in the life of the group -- if they were related to project. This in itself, we believe, is a disciplined sort of caring, both tough-minded and yielding. And disciplined caring is nothing less than an ethical ideal (Noddings, 1984), a model of teaching and learning that, as educators and researchers, we were also apprenticing in.

Conclusions

In summary, we would like to point to the importance of the ethos of commitment and the significance of the "sacred space" for the sheltering of women's projects. To be fully "in project", we feel, is a privileged path of seeking and enlightenment in the pursuit of a higher degree. The path can be joyfully realized in the company of fellow travellers. We believe these principles to be essential for groups such as ours, and welcome feedback from those at the symposium who have observations to add.

Our inquiry offers positive findings for educators who are in a position to influence the learning and teaching cultures of graduate schools, such as faculty supervising theses, as well as those working in counselling and academic support roles in the universities. In the developmental terms that we have outlined in the above discussion, the consequences for women of membership in such a group can be rich and far-reaching. Our findings exceed the linear "task" expectations around the completion of a thesis usually addressed in the literature, and point to the potential of peer mentoring for a powerful developmental journey in many aspects of identity.

THE MUSEUM AS ADULT EDUCATOR

A Dutch perspective

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This paper is part of a research project which deals with the many relationships between art and adult education in the Netherlands. From a historical point of view, it analyzes the educational activities of different types of museums.

Ce rapport fait part d'un projet de recherche qui examine les relations nombreuses entre l'art et l'éducation des adultes en Hollande. Les activités éducatives des types différents des musées sont ici analysées sous l'angle historique.

One can distinguish at least eight functions that present-day museums can fulfil. The professionalization of museum work has led to the emergence of a wide range of specialties which often coincide with these diverse functions (Van Mensch, 1989: 10-11). A museum assembles objects (the museum as collector), preserves or restores them (the museum as conservator), does research (the museum as investigator), provides access to the collections and organizes exhibitions (the museum as curator), informs the general public about its activities (the museum as communicator), entertains its clientele (the museum as animator), tries to reach those who are outside (the museum as activator), and teaches children and adults (the museum as educator).

The educational function with regard to adults is the main topic of this paper, but some other functions will also be discussed. First, the various kinds of voluntary organizations are indicated which have been, or still are, relevant for the development of museums in the Netherlands. Next, the history of the Dutch museum is sketched as it relates to these voluntary organizations. Then, different types of museums and their activities in the area of education and communication are described with special attention to the Dutch art museum after the second World War. Finally, consideration is given to certain trends in the museum world during the last forty years, seen in the light of adult education.

1. A variety of voluntary organizations

The history of the Dutch museum is closely connected with voluntary organizations. The term 'voluntary organization', however, can easily give rise to some misunderstandings.

On the one hand, there are voluntary organizations such as associations and foundations, which are regulated by private law, and which in the Netherlands are referred to with the term 'private initiative' in, for example, the areas of education and culture. Individuals may join or leave these organizations freely, whether as a member or a contributor, as there is no compulsion involved.

On the other hand, it is possible to use the term 'voluntary organization' when referring to organizations of volunteers. This usage is generally employed to emphasize the fact that people in these organizations are prepared to devote themselves on a unpaid basis to the service of others. Volunteers are to be found in all sorts of organizations. It is a feature of the Dutch system that the organizations which are characteristic of the 'private initiative', have volunteers on the management committee while the actual work is in the hands of professional workers. Conversely, a typical organization consisting of volunteer workers may have paid employees for the performance of various administrative tasks. Speaking about volunteer workers has become an even more complicated matter since a needy Dutch government has discovered this group as an object of policy. In times of financial stringency, the volunteer represents an interesting option in efforts to reduce the amount of paid work carried out by professionals. There is a current tendency to speak of 'unpaid' or 'underpaid' work in addition to pure voluntary work; in other words, the volunteer as a 'voluntaire' or as an unemployed person who undertakes work while continuing to receive a modest severance pay (Van Gent, 1987).

For centuries, voluntary organizations have been an essential feature of Dutch society. All these complex features of voluntary organizations appear when one examines the historical relationships between voluntary organizations and museums in the Netherlands.

2. Past and present of the Dutch museum

From the time of the Renaissance, European monarchs and prelates started to amass collections, not only of art, but also of artefacts, scientific instruments, minerals, and a great many other objects. These 'cabinets of curiosities' were not merely meant to display wealth and power, but served also as places of study (Vergo, 1989: 2). In the Calvinist Netherlands - a country 'lacking a head' as Queen Elizabeth I put it - well-to-do burghers surrounded themselves on a lesser scale with collections of shells, coins, antiquities, exotica and anatomical material (Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1985: 115-120).

The foundation of famous institutions like the British Museum and the Louvre dates from the second part of the eighteenth century. The British Museum opened in 1759 after Sir Hans Sloane bequeathed his collection of curiosities and art to the state. Until the early part of the nineteenth century, it remained primarily a place of study. One had to apply "weeks in advance and give evidence of serious scholarly purpose in order to gain access" (Abbey, 1989: 306). The Louvre was established as a museum during the French Revolution when the collections of court and church were confiscated (Westen, 1990: 23-24). This museum was seen as part of the national heritage which should from then on be open to all.

The first Dutch museum to become accessible to the general public was built in 1780 in Haarlem, thanks to a bequest from Pieter Teyler van der Hulst. When Teyler drew up his final will in 1756, his conception of the foundation that was to bear his name was a scientific institution with study collections rather than a museum. The executors of his estate, however, listened to the plea in favour of a more educational approach which at that time could be heard all over Europe (Van Borssum Buisman, 1978: 20). The Teyler foundation was one of the many so-called rational improvement and learned societies that were typical of the eighteenth-century Age of Enlightenment.

The lack of a court tradition and the non-interventionist posture of the liberal state gave private initiative a large role to play in the foundation and expansion of now famous institutions such as the Rijksmuseum (State Museum), which was opened in 1885. For many years, individual collectors bestowed their masterpieces to the state under the provision that a museum or an extension would be constructed. In this way they, too, acquired immortality (Kempers, 1990: 74). At the same time, various voluntary organizations in the cultural field asked for financial support from the government or were even established with the specific purpose of persuading the state to abandon its reluctant attitude (Bevers, 1987: 261-262). Since the members of these voluntary organizations and the representatives of the government belonged to the same social class and shared the same interests, the involvement of the state was soon ensured. Cultural institutions became either the sole responsibility of the state or were transformed into heavily subsidized 'neutral' voluntary organizations (Bevers, 1987: 261-262).

This is the more remarkable since in fields like education and social work, the 'pillarization' of Dutch society was a wide-spread phenomenon. In the first half of the twentieth century, every interest group on a denominational basis had formed a 'pillar' with its own political party, trade union, daily press, schools, sports clubs and helping agencies which would ensure the mobilization of its own constituency (Lijphart, 1968). In the area of 'high' culture, the elites of the pillars apparently did not need separate organizations to enjoy their privileged arts (Bevers, 1987: 267). The only discussion in which the pillars as such took part was around the actual building of the Rijksmuseum. Liberals and Calvinists found the design of Cuypers, a student of the French restorer of mediaeval monuments Viollet-le-Duc, too Catholic for their taste (Kempers, 1990: 75).

The institutionalization of governmental support was conducive to a gradually reduced involvement of private initiative and a rapid professionalization of the art world. The rise of the welfare state after the second World War reinforced this trend. Before the war, the economist Keynes and the sociologist Mannheim, among many others, had articulated their fear of the abuse of free time. Mannheim, for instance, was afraid that "unless material advancement is combined with personal example and the persuasion exercised by the presence of intelligent standards for the use of leisure, it may end in boredom, neurosis, and general decadence. Sublimation and cultivation are processes which have to be taught. The average citizen is unable to invent new uses for his leisure" (Mannheim, 1940/1960: 317). Both men advocated a planned education for the proper use of free time.

The ideas of Keynes and Mannheim inspired the architects of the Dutch welfare state who shared many of their pessimistic fears and moralistic convictions. The socialist Van der Leeuw, the first post-war minister of Education, Arts and Sciences, advocated a paternalistic, but well-meant, educational and cultural policy (Rogier, 1982: 8). After his early departure, his successors took a less active stand, but their concern remained. In 1949, the Catholic minister Rutten urged the Arts Council to consider specifically the question of how "art could be brought to the worker" (Oosterbaan Martinus, 1990: 17).

In 1965, the arts became the responsibility of a new Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work. A broad welfare policy began to take shape in this period now that the government was of the opinion that "more provisions for cultural and social well-being are necessary alongside the provisions for material prosperity" (Van Gent 1982: 141). A policy to diffuse culture was devised in the context of a strategy to spread knowledge, power and income. Education of the public was regarded as a primary task for museums (Ministerie van CRM, 1976: 10). To this end, volunteers were often called in to assist (Elshout, 1986: 38).

During the second half of the 1970's, the Netherlands was struck by an economic recession. Museums were soon confronted with important cuts in their allocations and subsidies. The government, in its financial need, called for a greater involvement of volunteers; the welfare state underwent a metamorphosis into a 'caring community'. In practice, this resulted also in the allocation of 'voluntary' tasks in museums to the unemployed who were available for the performance of unpaid and underpaid work (Elshout, 1986: 26). Some museums were privatized, while others had to become more self-sufficient (Ministerie van WVC, 1985: 7).

At present, voluntary organizations in the form of Friends of Museums have to assist the museums in difficult times (Brugman & Vernoy, 1989: 12). The first friends were, of course, the individual benefactors who donated their collections. Later, many museums themselves took the initiative to unite their friends. As a result, numerous groups of art-loving volunteers are being recruited and organized by the professional management of the museum (Bevers, 1987: 276).

3. Museums: types and activities.

From the eighteenth century on, different types of museums have emerged in the Netherlands. Among many others, the following types can be distinguished.

a. The encyclopedic museum as a gallery of a learned society. The already mentioned Teyler museum in Haarlem can be seen as an expression of rationalist notions on the relationship between knowledge and virtue which were highly popular during the eighteenth century.

b. The arts and crafts museum as an instrument of industrial development. This kind of museum represented the ideas prevailing in Europe during the second half of the 19th century. Its purpose was to serve as a source "of inspiration and instruction for the artists and craftsmen of the new industrial age" (Newsom & Silver, 1978: 14). The example of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London was followed in Haarlem and Amsterdam.

c. The ethnological museum as a colonial institute. The primary goal of such a museum was made clear in a letter by Von Siebold, whose collection formed the basis for the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (State Ethnological Museum) in Leiden. In 1840, he wrote to his French colleague Jomard: "Now it is time for the capitals of the civilized European empires possessing or intending to acquire colonies to create in their midst museums of geography and ethnography, the existence of which being the necessary prerequisite for the success of their enterprise" (in: Frese, 1960: 29).

d. The art museum as a patriotic hall of fame. In 1873, the Dutch lawyer De Stuers published a still much-quoted article entitled Holland op zijn smalst (Holland at its most narrow-minded), in which he denounced the scandalous neglect of the national heritage (De Stuers, 1873/1975: 36-119). Eloquently, De Stuers expressed the new feelings of cultural pride among the Dutch bourgeoisie at a time when a strong economic revival was taking place. Two years later, De Stuers became the senior officer of a new section for arts and sciences of the Home Ministry, an illustration of the often observed 'osmosis' of private initiative and state in the Netherlands. In this capacity, he played an essential role in the establishment of the Rijksmuseum.

After the second World War, most types of museums were subject to important changes. In the field of art museums, the rise and decline of the Dutch welfare state led to three new types.

e. The art museum as a temple for sacrosanct beauty. Until around 1965, the successive Dutch governments considered art to be synonymous with beauty. Museums were secular churches where a devout silence had to be observed. In a period of rapid social change and decline of organized religion, museums could perhaps offer some compensation for increasing feelings of loss of identity. Contact with high art would have a civilising effect and should keep the lower classes away from their base forms of amusement. In the struggle against 'the danger of massification', art museums could count on generous support as soon as the economic reconstruction of the Netherlands had taken shape (Oosterbaan Martinus, 1990: 51). With regard to education, a kind of evangelical work in museums was primarily aimed at moral uplifting.

f. The art museum as a school for social emancipation. From 1965 till 1985, some governing bodies of the welfare state considered art as a way to raise the social consciousness of the underprivileged. Educational departments were established in every major museum and in many ways they even overshadowed the activities of other sectors. Within the museums, new and often provocative educational techniques were being developed. To break down the image of the museum as 'an instrument of the dominant powers', the methods of outreach work were applied and cooperation was sought with socio-cultural centres in lower class neighbourhoods (Ganzeboom & Haanstra, 1989: 26).

g. The art museum as a commercial centre of cultural excellence. From 1985 on, the pursuit of social emancipation disappeared more or less completely from the stage. The state exchanged its educational policy for a cultural policy and decided to channel its sparse resources towards the conservation of high quality objects. This provoked little protest from the traditional elite within the museum hierarchy which had become irritated by the educational offensive. The government's new emphasis on privatization compelled museums to solicit corporate sponsorship, to organize attractive and commercially sound 'mega-expositions', and to sell luxurious catalogues. The museum director became the manager of a cultural enterprise, and art promotion took the place of arts education. At the same time, many experts came to the conclusion that - from an emancipatory perspective - the strategy of cultural diffusion had failed, notwithstanding the fact that the number of visits to museums had increased from 2.6 million in 1950 to 19.8 million in 1987 (Ganzeboom & Haanstra, 1989: 1).

4. Final considerations

By and large, every type of museum can be characterized by a salient activity which belongs to a broadly defined area of education and communication. In many ways, such activities are part of the 'genealogy' of adult education. The encyclopedic museum of the eighteenth century was intended to spread 'enlightenment', the arts and crafts museum of the nineteenth century was partly an instrument of 'training'. The original ethnological museum was set up to promote goodwill for the colonial venture in an early form of 'public relations'. The prewar art museum stressed the need for national unity on the basis of a glorious past, and can be considered as a medium for political 'propaganda'. From 1945 to 1965, the educational activities of art museums can be characterized as 'edification'. 'Adult education' was typical for the period between 1965 and 1985. Since then, providing 'entertainment' has become the predominant activity.

Many practical reasons have been offered for the striking success of museums during a period in which the number of visits to plays and movies dropped dramatically. Instead of being a dreaded competitor, television seems to act as a promotor of museums because of the attention given to, for example, the suspenseful auctions of masterpieces and the fuss over blockbuster exhibitions. Moreover, museums offer a much more flexible use of free time to tourists and locals compared to the rather fixed programs of theatres and cinemas. Last but not least, in recent years Dutch museums have displayed a great deal of inventiveness and energy on cultivating customer relations (Ganzeboom & Haanstra, 1989: 1-2).

Seen in the light of one philosophy of culture, the rapidly growing interest in museums is not just a fashionable trend, but forms part of a process which started at the end of the last century. This process has recently been described as the 'aesthetization of the world picture', echoing the Dutch scholar Dijksterhuis who, in 1950, referred to the genesis of modern Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth century as the 'mechanization of the world picture'. Situations, events, acts and people are seen primarily as aesthetic objects. Style and form are more important than ethical content (Vuyk, 1988: 171-179). In order to please his audience, the adult educator, for example, needs to become the performer of a show.

Another, but in many ways comparable, school of thought finds a connection between the rise of museums and the 'musealization' of culture (Elshout, 1990: 45). A multitude and a multiplicity of ideas, values and norms present themselves, free of obligation, as if they were objects in a museum. For this new version of cultural pluriformity 'everything goes', because preference in taste is no longer considered to be a subject for education or discussion. An era which hears first the 'end of ideology' and then the 'end of history' proclaimed, tends to treat its cultural heritage as an open treasury where everyone can find something of his or her liking. This so-called 'postmodern' condition transforms art into a series of equivalent citations from the past and turns culture into a permanent succession of temporary expositions (Vaessen, 1986: 362-363; Fukuyama, 1989; Boyne & Rattansi, 1990: 14).

Various theories have been advanced to explain the simultaneous failure of cultural diffusion among large sectors of the Dutch population. On the one hand, research indicates that income and, even more, education are the main factors to account for the highly unproportional rate of participation. The aesthetic experience flourishes on the fertile ground of previous schooling and cultural upbringing (Ganzeboom & Haanstra, 1989: 6). On the other hand, cultural competence is a useful weapon in social competition. The 'process of civilisation' can be seen as a continous alternation of lower class imitation of higher class behaviour and, as a consequence, new efforts by the elite to obtain more sophisticated means of distinction (Elias, 1969). At the same time, the possession of 'cultural capital' is an important advantage which only has market value if it remains within the hands of the happy few (Bourdieu, 1984: 10). The pursuit of cultural distinction therefore impedes the ideal of social emancipation.

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DEATH: THE ADULT LEARNER'S PENUMBRA

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Abstract

Many adult learners conduct their learning in circumstances of personal change. One particular aspect of adult experience appears not to have received much systematic attention—the adult learner's relationship with death. How is death present in the lives of adult learners? If the teaching learning setting includes a learner(s) who is in a concurrent relationship with death, what does this mean for the conduct of the teaching and the learning? The conference session will provide an opportunity to continue the dialogue commenced in this paper.

Parmi les adultes qui participent dans des situations d'apprentissage il y en a beaucoup qui se trouvent également dans des circonstances de changement personnel. Les chercheurs n'ont pas accordé leur attention systématique à un aspect en particulier de l'expérience des adultes -- celui du rapport entre l'apprenant et la mort. Dans quelle mesure la mort se retrouve-t-elle dans la vie des apprenants androgogues? Au cas où la situation d'apprentissage/enseignement inclurait quelqu'un qui éprouve en même temps une expérience avec la mort, quelle signifiance ce fait a-t-il pour la conduite de l'apprentissage et de l'enseignement? Les conférenciers donneront l'occasion aux participants de continuer le dialogue au cours de la session.

Introduction

Adult education literature is replete with references to the multiple responsibilities which compete for the time and attention of adult learners as they seek to engage in educational activities. Indeed, many adult learners conduct their learning in circumstances of personal change which often border on personal crisis. As a consequence, in attempting to make adult education experiences accessible or effective, educators generally pay attention to matters such as the family and/or work responsibilities. In reflecting these two broad areas of concern, adult education research and programming often is focused on matters such as child care arrangements, paid educational leave, flexible program scheduling, cooperative arrangements with employers and the like. It is intriguing, however, that one particular aspect of adult experience appears not to have received much systematic attention. We are referring to the adult learner's relationship with death. We are not speaking here only of an increasing sense of personal mortality; the experience of death to which we refer is primarily the deaths of others: of friends, of family, of loved ones, but we also include of one's self. Indeed, in our opinion, an increasing relationship with death in one's life may be a characteristic which tends to differentiate young learners from older learners.

Presenters & Participants

The development of this conference session has involved five people: Marg Wall is Coordinator of the University of New Brunswick (UNB) Management Development Programs and an Adult Education M.Ed. student who recently experienced the death of her father. Don Chapman is Coordinator of Community College Instructor Development and a faculty member in the Division of Adult and Vocational Education at UNB. Don has been working closely with adult learners "being with death" in post secondary and higher education settings for a number of years. Beverlie Dietze is Head of the Department of Human Development Services at the Saint John Campus of the New Brunswick Community College. Beverlie is nearing the completion of her degree as a B.Ed. student in adult education. For the past two years Beverlie has experienced the deaths of a number of individuals close to her and has been actively involved in a personal struggle with a severe illness. Finally, in preparing for the conference session, an interview was conducted with two university students who also recently experienced death in conjunction with their educational activities. These two women will be referred to by pseudonyms, Wendy is an M.Ed. student and Lana an undergraduate student. The death-related experiences of the individuals above include at least three types: 1) living with the fact that someone close is dying, 2) sudden death of someone close, 3) the prospect of one's own death.

Guiding Questions

The questions which are guiding our enquiry are as follows:

- How is death present in the lives of adult learners?
- If the teaching learning setting includes a learner(s) who is in a concurrent relationship with death, what does this mean for the conduct of the teaching and the learning?

Research Approach & Conference Session

Our research activities in the initial stages of this enquiry include: individual reflection, clustering or mind mapping, reflective writing, dialogue, a group interview and the examination of written work produced by each student in the presence of death. Our formulations are initial, tentative and personal. The conference session will be exploratory in nature. We view the opportunity provided by the session as being a part of our research heuristic (Douglas and Moustakas: 1985). This heuristic process began with our internal desire to understand more about the conjunction of two powerful human experiences -- death and university education. Our enquiry has proceeded through self-reflection, consultation and dialogue. We intend that the conference session will provide the opportunity to continue the dialogue within a broader context of the experiences of interested others. With the permission of all of the session participants, this session will be tape recorded.

The Experience

This paper and the subsequent conference session are our attempt to weave into text selected reported experiences of the conjunction of BEING WITH DEATH and of BEING A UNIVERSITY STUDENT. Our fabric includes *our tentative, yet personal, thoughts about the experience* of being with death entwined with the individual words and perspectives of our colleagues — patterns of shared meanings.

My thoughts —like the real-ness and surreal-ness of death —are equivocal, but I cannot avoid the permanence of the fact;. It is all like the line between light and shadow -- a true penumbra.

Wendy: [It feels] RAW... this realism, this... I don't think I can describe ...there are no words. I haven't found any in my vocabulary or the dictionary to describe the feelings of what you are going through or how you feel when you discover this is happening, that you are losing somebody you're really very, very... This is the first time I've lost somebody very close to me.

Lana: It was during the time when I was doing my paper on death and dying and I had been at it for months. Over here [on the cluster] I have "realization" and "do you really know about death." The experience of having an uncle die — running through the procedures of helping prepare the casket, ordering flowers and seeing that everything was in the paper, and so on — was very busy. Then the next week a 22-year-old friend died and that was really a .... very traumatic. It was an experience that I know I will probably have to go through again, but it is something that is really undescribable — the feeling that you have is so draining on you.

Lana: It just seems like there is something always over me. Thinking, when the phone rings late at night, that feeling is, Oh! What if this is ...? It's just a panic. The phone rings and it's a panic.

Chaos is the context of my struggle. As the past overtakes me, I make an effort to live in the vivid reality of my changing present while I anticipate a future without my loved one.

Wendy: When I discovered at the end of January that my sister's disease had come back, my worst fears were realized... I was in the process of taking the course in which you write your own biography. As you know, in that, you go back to your childhood. At this point, I was doing this very assignment and I thought, I can't do it! I started to go through it. A lot of things came to me that I didn't realize before, all these feelings of fear of losing my sister,. and here I am trying to write about that — the good times we had together!! Here I've got all these mixed up feelings; I didn't know if I could go on! I had to pull myself together.

Beverlie: Two weeks after my second major surgery in a year, the telephone rings — "Beverlie, I have bad news — David has been killed." Suddenly I realize my brother is dead, my father is terminally ill with cancer, and I have more treatment ahead. I struggle with the future!

Lana: I [will] finish the year in university. I haven't any doubt about it because I have found that because I've gone through so many deaths during my lifetime that I can continue on and push myself, really push myself, until something is done.

In the face of this chaos, I begin to question my values and priorities. New meanings and new priorities emerge.

Marg: His example has made me see my life as part of a larger reality that includes birth, life, death and beyond. In some ways his dying has diminished my concerns over my sons, our finances, my performance in class and my future employment prospects once I finish school.

Beverlie: I had a new and exciting job; I had specific goals identified and a plan of action and then my physician said, "its malignant—you will need chemotherapy, but your chances of recovery are good."...Suddenly death and dying became my focus. What do I want to accomplish? ...My dream is to complete my degree — I have the skills but do I have the energy?

Lana: All these things come to your mind: What are you doing? Is it worth it? Is life worth it anyway? What is it in life that is worth anything?

Bereavement thrusts me against my self and all that I hold dear. That which I really hold dear becomes apparent and it is not what I thought it to be.

Wendy: I looked at the books [collected for her literature review] and I started to want to throw up. Every time I looked at them I thought, "I can't go through with this [thesis]! I don't want this anymore!" I didn't want it badly enough.... So the more I looked at the books, the more it got that I couldn't sleep, and the more I got feeling sick. Then I started to think of my priorities: What do I want to do? What is my future? Why would I want this thesis? .... Who am I doing it for? ... myself? ... somebody else?

Marg: I had my big agenda: do the courses; get the thesis written; finish the thesis by last August. I finished the courses in April. It was the same thing: "Who says I have to finish this thesis this summer? I need to get away; I can't do this!" I no longer was driven. It wasn't that I had given up on the thesis. It wasn't that I had given up on my intent. But I had set it up that I had this agenda, but all of a sudden, it was the same thing: "You don't need to do this thesis this summer! There are other summers. This is the summer my father is going to die! "

Lana: I dropped [a course].... I was sitting there one day and she was lecturing and I thought, "You don't like this course; you are not interested in going in this direction; you have to spend so much time; what are you doing in this room?!! Is this really doing you any good?" And I said, "No!" and walked out. I realized that by dropping it I would have to take six courses this time, which I am doing. I wonder sometimes if all those things hadn't happened to me during that year, whether I would have pushed myself, but that is a question I can't answer.

I am powerless over this death. The classroom may provide momentary relief from my grief, yet on the darker side, grief frequently overtakes me. Sometimes it insinuates itself into my learning; at other times, it rushes at me.

Beverlie: I returned to class — I walked in late so no one would mention my brother's death. I got involved in class, I left at break, so I wouldn't have to speak to anyone. After class I realized the evening had given me relief from both physical and emotional pain. I realized then the more courses I take , the less pain I will focus on. I can beat it.

Marg: I discovered that I could be present [in class] but not feel the need to contribute. I just sat there and listened to everything that was going on around me. I was present, like a sponge drinking it in.... Usually by the time next class rolled around I was ready to take part again.

Lana: I would sit there at times, of course my mind would wander, then I'd have to snap myself back to it. Very few people that I was in class with knew that there was any death that I had faced. I think it made it easier. Not that I was trying to deny it, but it wasn't something that I wanted to talk about.

Marg: I was going through a lot of things to understand myself. I found that I applied a lot of what I was learning in the Master's program in trying to understand what was going on with me, with death and the dying of Dad. There was a lot of overlap for me. For example, sometimes I felt as if I was split in two. I could go [to class] and do a lot of the work for these courses , and I could do it really intensely. And while I was there, that would give me relief from Dad. On one hand there was the sense that I could go and do this and get "sweet relief" and Dad would not be in my mind, maybe for two hours; but as soon as the class stopped, or as soon as I stopped what I was doing I'd go back and there was that. But the other thing that I kept finding myself doing was constantly trying to understand what was happening to me. And I always kept relating it back to what I was learning in the classroom, particularly about understanding myself as a learner.

Wendy: I felt silly, you feel like you are Jekyll and Hyde. Your are there in body, but not always in mind. And on another moment, you are there in mind and something would come up, something could trigger— something the professor says or one of your colleagues says — all of a sudden you mind goes "back" to this other condition you are living through... I found myself occasionally flipping back and forth. I don't think you can ever totally blank it out.

Lana: I really started [the essay about death and dying] in September and these three deaths occurred in October, when I was in the midst of doing it. I got [the essay] done because I figured if I could do this paper — which was meant to benefit me more than anybody — if I could do it and it would benefit other people, that was very, very important. If I had been doing something trivial I wouldn't have had the drive that I had to do this. This was important not only for me, but it was also important for what I could learn.

Wendy: It was the worst [class] night for me; and I just wanted to get up and run! I'd gotten to the point — I must have been getting whiter and whiter -- I just looked at my colleagues in this group and they said, "you don't feel so good?" And I said, "yes and I think I'd better leave." I just excused myself. I was so drained, I just couldn't function! I wasn't even sure I could drive home.

In having to come to grips with death, my whole life, including my learning takes on a new intensity.

Marg: What I said to Don one time was that there were times when I felt "intensely present" as if my learning was almost the most intense learning that I engaged in — at the very same time that I was engaged in this intense pain.

Wendy: Do you think maybe it was sharpening us up? How can I explain myself more clearly? Because we were in a very agitated sense. or very painful experience, our learning

... So we've got this new learning which is very "fundamental" — it's very fundamental to our being, because it is a human being's life we are talking about — we are learning how to cope with this death, knowing full well that we too are going to die! ... This very essence of us living is — every day we live gets closer to the day we die.
I think that maybe it helped me put the correct emphasis on [my] education — where it should be. When we learn — especially when it is a subject we are not keen on learning — maybe we go through the rudiments of learning, we maybe go through the exercise of learning, we maybe do what the professor rules us to do to get through the course, because we need to have it; but maybe we are not as "in-tune" with that course or that material as we should be. I found that I valued things more; I learned to discover what was of value to me; and my learning was of value to me.

Beverlie: He was unconscious—he opened his eyes — winked at me an said, "Life is precious". Then he died with me holding his hand.
Five days later I met with my university advisor. I knew that I had to focus on my studies — I want my degree before I die. My studies will help me deal with my pain, my treatment and the surgery. I can't give up yet! ...
I talked to myself — day after day I was sick, I'd miss class, and yet I would struggle to do assignments. Finally, I knew I had to talk to my professors. I struggled with what I would say — will they be understanding? — if they say I have to withdraw, how will I achieve my goal?.

The Threads We Weave

C.M. Parkes (1985) indicates that it takes time to make real inside the self the reality that exists outside. Grief, he suggests, is a painful struggle of abandoning old assumptions and behaviors and discovering new ones. Such notions may be similar to Mezirow's (1978) process of perspective transformation, Hopsen and Adams' (1976) model of transitional behavior, and Taylor's (1987) model of process learning.

Part of having what one might call a learning attitude involves a letting go of elements of the past, holding on to what is relevant and what is present. To sustain one's commitment to learning in the shadow of death's presence, is, in part, to embrace new realities and to experience intense personal growth. The combination of a learning attitude and bereavement can turn such openness into a personal sense of chaos. The teaching-learning setting of university has the potential to magnify or minimize this personal discord. We need to understand more of the nature of the experience and its implications for us as educators.

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TITLE: PERSISTENCE AND PARTICIPATION RESEARCH: APPLICABILITY TO DISTANCE EDUCATION AND THE DISTANCE LEARNER

Low retention rates are a problem that has plagued distance education since its inception. Through synthesis and analysis of information, this paper applies research in persistence and participation to the field of distance education, and incorporates fresh perspective into the role of distance education within the parent field of adult education.

Titre: Recherche sur l'assiduite et la participation: Application a l'enseignement a distance et a celui qui apprend a distance.

Le niveau peu eleve de retention consitue un probleme qui nuit a enseignement a distance depuis ses debuts. Par la synthese et l'analyse d'information, cette presentation applique les recherches sur l'assiduite et la participation au domaine de l'enseignement a distance, et ajoute une nouvelle perspective au role de l'ensignement a distance a l'interieur du vaste secteur de l'enseignment pour adultes.

Research in persistence and participation have focused almost exclusively on traditional models of education. This essay serves to address these areas with respect to distance education.

Distance Learners Defined

It is relevant to briefly discuss characteristics that are unique to, or more pronounced in, the distance learner. Distance learners are most often adults. Adulthood is generally marked by a combination of factors such as age, psychological maturity, and social roles (Darkenwald and Merriam 1982). Responsibility for one's own daily living is also indicative of adulthood. It is not uncommon for distance teaching programs to consist of eighty percent full-time working students (Korhonen and Langenbach 1988). Distance learners conduct the majority of their studies outside the classroom setting. Contiguous instruction is the exception rather than the rule. Although tutoring and/or contiguous communication is often encouraged by distance programs, the traditional lecture is most often absent. Although study groups are not uncommon, the distance learner is often left to his or her own devices regarding methods to be utilized in study.

Socialization that takes place in more traditional education environments is often absent from distance education models of learning. The sense of satisfaction that Darkenwald and Anderson (1979) believe to be important to adult learner persistence, may need to be more intrinsically oriented in the distance learner. A sense of educational efficacy may be more difficult for a distance learner to attain that for a more traditional student. Close personal support from peers and faculty is more likely to be lacking in a distance education program.

Persistence and Participation

Persistence studies are not infrequent and may fall under the guise of dropout studies, attrition, completion, non-completion, perseverance, retention, or models of participation. The latter of these, participation models, may at first appear to address a different area of concern; however, it is believed by some researchers that participation and persistence are interrelated (Boshier, 1973; Darkenwald & Anderson, 1979; Goodridge & Lane, 1984).

Long (1983) poses the question "Can the dropout phenomenon and nonparticipation be explained by the same model" (p. 148)? Korhonen and Langenbach (1988) in an article on persisters and nonpersisters, address the degree to which these areas are dependent. The authors present a valid point when they discuss the difficulty in assessing persistence through the utilization of a participation model, that is, the need to intervene throughout the participation experience to gather data.

Darkenwald and Anderson (1979) state, "The available research...suggests that some of the same factors that are positively related to participation are similarly related to persistence" (p. 13). The researchers used multiple regression to determine the effect of individual variables on participation and persistence. They also noted that the most powerful predictor of positive performance in education, was the former amount of schooling, while the most powerful predictor of persistence was found to be the amount of satisfaction experienced with relation to learning. It seems obvious that these variables, and their effect on participation and persistence, are dependent upon each other. If an individual's satisfaction is low, he or she is more likely to dropout. Commensurate with this, if an individual has dropped out previously, he or she is less likely to participate again. This cycle is most obvious with lower socioeconomic populations where psychosocial barriers often perpetuate existing negativity associated with education. Adult educators must assume a certain degree of responsibility for reaching adults that are least likely to participate, and less likely to persist once they do. This may mean overcoming past barriers that exacerbate current barriers.

Whatever stance one takes with regard to the relatedness between participation and persistence, one thing remains clear: There exists a need for research that will conceptualize frameworks to be used for measuring predictive and explanatory potential regarding persistence.

Research in Persistence

Although demographic information provides valuable quantitative information regarding who participates, how many complete a given course, and external reasons for dropout, it does not measure the attitude, internal motivation, or personal sense of educational efficacy. Demographic information will never provide the data needed to facilitate hope and satisfaction in a distance learner. Models of attitudinal and motivational factors affecting persistence would address these areas and would allow us to overcome any external barriers that currently facilitate dropout.

It is interesting to note that UNESCO (1984) places the burden of educating the underprivileged on educational institutions, for "...the affluent members of society are always in a better position to take advantage of new institutions and technologies" (p. 95). The same may be said for distance teaching universities, and all adult education institutions. If adult education is to benefit both individuals and society, then we must develop new tools for increasing participation and lowering the dropout rates of our adult participants. Research will provide answers to such questions as: "Why do young black males have low participation rates, and dropout at a disproportionately high rate?" What are the factors that account for persistence in educational programs, and particularly, distance education programs?" Understanding persistence and its relatedness to participation will allow for these basic questions to be answered, and will open the door to true democratization of education. Distance education stands to gain considerably from research pertaining to dropout and persistence.

Chain of Response

Cross (1981) developed a framework for adult participation based on seven principles. Cross recognizes the importance of internal or intrinsic factors, as well as external or extrinsic factors. Her behavioral model hypothesizes that participation by adults proceeds along the following continuum: Self evaluation, attitudes about education, importance of goals and expectations that participation will meet goals, life transitions, opportunities and barriers, information and participation (Cross 1981). The Model acknowledges both internal factors and external factors that influence participation. Cross believes that once the individual is motivated to participate in some form of learning, barriers, opportunities, and accurate information are thought to become increasingly important to actual participation.

One may ask "How can this participation model be used to address persistence and the distance learner?" If the Chain of Response Model is thought of in terms of being an ongoing process, one may hypothesize that once an individual initiates participation in an activity, the elements of this model shift their foci from participation to that of persistence. Following participation, the distance learner returns to the self-evaluation phase. The difference here is that self-evaluation is an on-going process with regard to persistence. The degree of personal confidence along with the individual's motivation for achievement will result in either persistence or nonpersistence. Similarly, one's attitude about education, and expectations that participation will meet personal goals, continues to affect persistence. Korhonen and Langenbach's (1988) finding that participants in nontraditional graduate programs are more likely to persist if they have received a bachelor degree from a nontraditional institution, seems to support this statement. Familiarity with nontraditional approaches to education lessens the chance that negativity will be projected toward future distance education programs.

Opportunities and barriers certainly play a role in persistence, though researchers disagree about the degree to which this is true. Clark (1986) states that "While situational factors contributing to dropout are widely acknowledged in the literature, their significance has been underemphasized" (p. 75). Long (1983) encourages further research into external barriers citing the need to focus on these barriers rather than on those associated with personal and societal factors. The forementioned authors base their theories on the traditional student. For the distance learner, institutional and situational barriers may not be as problematic as for the traditional adult learner. The liberal learning environment often overcomes problems associated with transportation, child-care, inflexible work schedules, rigid registration requirements, and geographical separation of the learner from the learning environment.

The Chain of Response Model dictates that more attention be given to the internal psychological variables affecting participation (Cross 1981). The same principle may be applicable to persistence. Emphasis in research should focus on personal motivations for continuing in an education program.

Boshier's Congruence Theory

Boshier's theory seems particularly relevant to the field of distance education. Congruence between learners and their learning environments is an important concept to this model (Boshier 1973). Given the nontraditional nature of distance education, this serves to provide an example of why distance learning is not for everyone.

At the core of the Congruence Model is the assumption that participation is based on the interaction between a learner's internal motivations and the external variables that affect the individual (Boshier 1973). The relationship between student and lecturer, student and institution, student and peers, and student and student, plays an important role in individual participation (Long 1983). As Cross (1981) notes, Boshier implies that the greater the number of incongruencies, the greater the likelihood of nonparticipation or dropout. The relational elements cited above can be divided into a seemingly infinite number of factors. For example, the relationship between student and student may result in either congruence or incongruence at any given point in time, this fluctuating as the individual's perception of self versus ideal self changes. The reasons for a change in self-perception may not be directly related to the activity in which one is participating, but may nonetheless, impact that activity.

The independent nature of the distance education system alters the elements of congruence outlined by Boshier. The relationship between student and lecturer, student and institution, and student and peers will differ more for the independent learner than for the on-campus student. Tinto hypothesized that "Weakness of integration of the student into the social fabric of the institution was an indicator of possible dropout" (as cited in Keegan, 1986). Keegan (1986) calls for the provision of quality learning materials, but above all...the provision of adequate student services for the avoidance of dropout" (p. 175). In the distance education model, peers for example, are less likely to be other students, and more likely to consist of family members and friends. Positive peer pressure resulting from participation in a social learning process will not likely be as evident with distance learners.

One may hypothesize that of all possible incongruencies preceding the decision to cease participation, self incongruence is the most influential. The will of the individual to persist in an activity that he or she believes is propitious, can be extraordinary and will not be easily shaken. Similarly, if nonpersistence is perceived as having a greater negative consequence than persistence, the will of the individual to persist can be astounding.

Subsequent to participation, the distance learner immediately has the choice of whether to persist in the learning process. Each of the possible incongruencies listed above will play a role in the learner's decision to persist or dropout; however, once participation has been initiated, the self element increases its influence. Boshier (as cited in Cross 1981) suggests that people who show high discrepancy scores between self and ideal self are likely to project their dissatisfaction to their environment.and will likely dropout of most any learning environment. Similarly, it could be said that high congruence between self and ideal self will result in positive projection onto one's environment, or learning program, or educational efforts. The implications of this for distance education are staggering.

The Psychosocial Interaction Model

Darkenwald and Merriam's (1982) model of participation, though simplistic, lends itself nicely to the discussion of persistence and the distance learner. Emphasizing socioeconomic status, the Psychosocial Model explores the roots of participation. Discussion of this model will be limited to its direct implications for persistence.

Just as Darkenwald and Anderson (1979) stated in their findings, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) conclude that prior educational attainment is positively correlated with participation in adult education. The authors discuss their concept of the "learning press". Learning press is defined as "the extent to which one's total current environment requires or encourages further learning" (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982, p. 142). Applied to persistence in distance education, learning press may be lower for the distance learner. Although to date there is little empirical data to support such a conclusion, it can be agreed that the learning environment of the lower socioeconomic populace and that of the distance learner, often poses a more significant barrier to learning than that which the nondisadvantaged student experience on-campus. Just as the lower socioeconomic group may not have a peer or social support system that encourages continuing education, the distance learner is often an independent entity, learning without much of the support of traditional institutions.

The Psychosocial Model also addresses the value of education as perceived by the student. Perception of the value of education will certainly affect an individual's attitude and willingness to participate (Darkenwald and Merriam 1982). Once the distance learner has initiated participation in a learning activity, he or she must feel confident that the program is meeting his or her goals. High dropout rates among distance learners may be indicative of an inability of distance institutions to instill a sense of worthiness into their programs. If the distance learner's environment cannot be relied upon to encourage continued participation, perhaps the institution should step up efforts to reach students with a message relaying, to each individual learner, the usefulness of their program.

As practitioners, we should keep in mind that although participation and persistence may contain certain objective characteristics, it is apparent that a high degree of subjective analysis premeditates the decision to dropout (Darkenwald and Merriam 1982). Since Socioeconomically disadvantaged people and distance learners both exhibit disproportionately high levels of dropout, perhaps the same tools can be used to reach these groups before dropout becomes a reality.

Variables Affecting Persistence in Distance Education

In their study on persistence and participation in a nontraditional graduate program, Korhonen and Langenbach (1988) note that older adults, though less likely to participate, are more likely to persist when they do so. An especially interesting finding in this study is the "bluster syndrome" associated with nonpersisters. Using a Likert-type scale, the authors found that nonpersisters rated themselves disproportionately high in personality traits and abilities at the time of their application into the graduate program. Korhonen and Langenbach (1988) acknowledge that this so-called "bluster-syndrome" is significant. Further research into this phenomenon is warranted.

Coggins (1988) points out that research into preferred learning styles has focused almost exclusively on the adult student in a traditional setting. Coggins (1988) focuses attention on participant learning styles. In addition to her own findings, she cites numerous other references, including Korhonen and Langenbach (1988) and Boshier (1977), when acknowledging that the number of years out of school, and level of formal education are relevant to persistence in distance students. She also found that a mere 65.7 percent of nonpersisters expressed the intention of completing a degree compared with 96.4 percent of completers. Could this be related to the participant's perceived value of a distance education degree? Coggins (1988) also states that "Noncompleters exhibited a higher preference for peer affiliation and instructor affiliation than that exhibited by completers" (p. 31). This finding appears consistent with the statement made earlier in this paper that "distance education may not be for everyone!"

In terms of preferred learning modalities and conditions for learning, Coggins (1988) reports a lack of significant difference between completers and noncompleters. This raises the question: Is there a way to make DE more affable? Coggin's (1988) findings demonstrate differences in content preference between completers and noncompleters, and the author suggests further research be conducted in this area. Addressing psychological variables such as preferred learning styles, and differentiating between dropouts and stopouts (as she refers to those individuals currently not participating due to a temporary external barrier, but intending to resume participation in the future) provides an accurate assessment of the situation.

Conclusion

It seems that there is no simple answer to the dropout problem. Researchers are beginning to address the root causes of persistence and focus less on the demographic statistics surrounding the singular act of dropping out, which is symptomatic of an underlying problem. Adult distance education owes a responsibility to itself as a discipline, to the many adults who currently participate in it, and to the many more adults who could benefit from it, to seek out more ways to reach the unreachable, and retain the unretainable, thus helping to fulfill the personal and social aims of adult education as a whole.

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THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF WOMEN IN FRONTIER COLLEGE

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Alfred Fitzpatrick, founder of Frontier College, advocated a larger role for women in *The University in Overalls*, 1920. A few women participated in the College's work in the first thirty years and two entered the College's brief university degree programme. The College's archives include their history.

Alfred Fitzpatrick, le fondateur du Collège Frontière, a recommandé un rôle plus large pour les femmes, dans son livre *The University in Overalls*, 1920. Un petit nombre de femmes participait aux activités pendant les premières trente années du Collège; les archives du Collège mettent en jour leur histoire.

ALFRED FITZPATRICK'S IDEAS ON WOMAN'S SPHERE

In *The University in Overalls* Alfred Fitzpatrick advocated the greater participation of Canadian women in community work and land settlement, and encouraged them to take responsibility for their own further education and that of others. Those objectives of which he wrote in 1920 were achieved only occasionally in the first thirty years of The Canadian Reading Camp Association and its successor organization, Frontier College. There was a lack of staff and time to plan the possible placement of women; College finances were severely strained in most years, making it difficult to operate beyond the original programme mandate of placing male university students as labourer-teachers; Fitzpatrick's immediate assistant, Edmund Bradwin, was concerned to maintain the College on its founding principles of providing literacy and citizenship education for men working on Canada's frontiers. Fitzpatrick's ideas about women were at once progressive and of their time. Women should be able work on the frontier through the strength of their education and initiative. On the other hand, educated middle-class women should be a "socializing influence" for women blue-collar workers

Fitzpatrick was a spokesman for land settlement, particularly to the vast clay-belt of northern Ontario. In order for this land to be settled on a permanent basis, Fitzpatrick explained that a sense of community had to be encouraged. To place settlers each on their own large tract of land was to result in such isolation that residents could not survive the initial years of hardship: for immigrant settlers the experience of isolation must be particularly severe. A basic system of roads, nursing services and schools and schools was essential. "Settlement in the wooded lands of northern Canada will be encouraged when women are granted land on exactly the same terms as the men." (4, p.65)

In western Canada, the homesteads-for-women movement had been very active from 1909 to 1913, and continued until 1930. Under the Dominion Lands Act, women could acquire Crown land only if widowed, divorced, separated or deserted - and having dependents. No such restrictions applied to men. It is likely that Fitzpatrick was familiar with the advocacy expressed by such women as Georgina Binnie-Clark, whose *Wheat and Woman* was published in Toronto in 1914. In spite of such advocacy, restrictions on women's rights to acquire land continued to prevail, since lawmakers declared that women could participate in farm ownership through purchase of land, or could aspire to a role in farm work through marriage. (1, p.v-xxiv) Fitzpatrick declared: "Give women homesteads of their own." "Free land, fellowship with men and with their own sex, at large land-clearing camps, entertainment,and the privileges of acquiring an education, will attract women. (4, p.67)

Fitzpatrick believed that manual training and manual labour should take an important place in the development of Canadian society. In his manuscript "Schools and Other Penitentiaries" he had written: "Some folk are hand-minded and knowledge comes to such people mainly through the senses." "... such work of the hands will be seen to be the great emancipator of labour." (v.194)

As for community service, "... more than ever the university woman must give fuller heed to certain duties too long neglected. Community service has daily widened its field of usefulness. When will the woman graduate see that with her mind enriched ... and with her broader vision, she has an obligation to go for a time ... as an actual worker..." "... the woman graduate [may strive] to make more wholesome the lives and outlooks of [women workers] ..." (4, p.122) "... must be able to work in a kitchen, give culinary assistance, or spend an hour or two at a sewing machine, as well as ... teach, proving a leader in all wholesome amusements and social gatherings ..." (4, p.124)

The University in Overalls was widely distributed for review. In 1921 the *Montreal Gazette*, the *Family Herald and Weekly Star* and *Canada* magazine remarked on Fitzpatrick's attention to the role of women. The Sydney, Australia *Daily* Telegraph] identified Canada's social problems with those being experienced in Australia and agreed that "The influence of women in a camp is an enormous factor in raising its moral tone. (MG 28, I 124, v.194)

THE WOMEN WHO SERVED FRONTIER COLLEGE

An appendix to *The University in Overalls* describes "350 of the 500 university men who in the last twenty years have acted as instructors for the Frontier College ..." (4, p. 159) Five women were included who, by 1920, had participated in the College's work.

Mrs. Alex Scott served in 1900-01 for The Canadian Reading Camp Association at McFadden's Camp near Whitefish, where her husband was a foreman. A letter reproduced from her husband says that she taught the men in camp to read and write.

In 1903 Miss B.M. Laverie served as a teacher at Murdoch Brothers, fifty miles from North Bay on the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway. Both women are portrayed in the Association's annual report for 1902-03, but no further description of their work survives.

After World War I, a number of women enquired about the prospects of work with the College, including several from Ontario. Also, on the advice of Wellesley College's "vocational advisor" two Wellesley students asked for information. (As Strong-Boag has noted, beginning in the 1920s guidance counsellors had begun to refer girls to a broadening range of jobs considered suitable for women.) (11, p.134)

The first indication that the College was actively seeking women participants appeared in a form letter dated May 1920. It sought a secretary with shorthand, typing and bookkeeping skills for the head office work, and announced the possibility of employing women for the summer. (v.163)

The successful applicant for the secretarial post was Jessie Lucas, a recent graduate of the University of Toronto. For forty-three years she was to prove to be effective and efficient as the College's Secretary-Treasurer, and, during its university phase, as Registrar. She provided extremely meaningful support to successive principals, and was responsible for communicating in person, by letter, telegram and phone, with hundreds of College participants and would-be participants. Her ability to organize and value records has resulted in the retention of one of the most remarkable adult education archival resources in Canada.

"WISHING YOU WOULD SEND SOME SUGGESTIONS" Fitzpatrick's form letter mentioned that Miriam Chisholm was to be engaged for summer work at a clothes pin factory at Bear River, N.S. Fitzpatrick wrote to Chisholm: "You understand that you will work with the girls in the factory during the day and spend the evenings in giving instruction, and general welfare work. ... of course we think that your influence during the day will count for as much as it will in the evening." (v.33)

The women employees were mainly French-Canadian. Chisholm thought they could best be helped by providing a recreation room, in which to show films and teach sewing, for which equipment had to be sent from Toronto. Subsequently factory equipment broke down, the employees were without work, and Chisholm was transferred to the company's office, saddened that she had not seemed to achieve the College's objectives for her.

Fitzpatrick's 1920 form letter had alluded to the possibility of placing women in the city. To applicant Isabel Mackey Fitzpatrick reported: "Eaton's has a welfare department, and for the present, I think they would just as soon manage it themselves. Simpson's, however, have no welfare department." (v.35) The prospect of an interview was indicated. Strong-Boag explains that "Telephone companies and larger retail outlets often pioneered in setting up recreational, health and welfare plans. During their extensive expansion in the decade Eaton's maintained Welfare Secretaries, motherly women, to supervise the well-being of female help." (13, p.151)

"DO YOU THINK THERE IS ANY HOPE OF ACCOMPLISHING ANYTHING JUST NOW?"

After Fitzpatrick was unable to find Mackey a job in Toronto, he sent her to community work in Selkirk, Saskatchewan, where his brother lived. Her attempts to organize meetings and group activities were difficult, owing to the residents being engaged in farming and harvesting. Mackey apparently had little prospect of teaching English to immigrants: "I met some Swedes and their English was atrocious but I could do nothing with them." She organized a reading circle which was sufficiently ambitious that participants were required to write reports. At the end of the summer she offered to organize a small circulating library. She concluded "I hope you will not be too disappointed in my work." (v.35)

In 1921 Fitzpatrick offered her the prospect of fund-raising for the College, with the assistance of a film which had just been prepared on the College's work. This was another idea which fell through, owing to the loss of one of the reels of film.

Subsequently Mackey was offered work at Connors Brothers fish cannery, Black's Harbour, N.B., working in the cannery during the day, and with the women in the evening. Some eighty girls and women, ranging in age from 11 to 60, worked at making cans and packing fish. Work was frequently scarce, sometimes only an hour or two a day.

The Connors family did not support Mackey's efforts to form a women's ball team nor set up activities in the hall - nor would they countenance teaching the women to read. Although Mackey was not able to work out a joint programme with W.B. McLean, whom the College had sent down as "athletic director", they were able to agree on wiring the College "Work scarce accommodation poor will we return." Fitzpatrick advised: "We would be better pleased if you could make it go than if you returned." Mackey concluded that her efforts to help the girls, not only by arranging activities and reading materials, but by leading "a very simple life", were unappreciated. "I thought they [Connors brothers] did not want too much "enlightenment" for the girls or they would not have been satisfied with the present condition." (v.36)

Isabel Mackey has been described as a "pioneer literacy worker". (14, p.24) On the archival evidence, the conditions she met in Selkirk and in Black's Harbour actively discouraged her from achieving such a role. The communities were not ready for the kind of service by women which Fitzpatrick espoused.

Through the 1920s a few women continued to enquire about Frontier College placements. By the mid-1920s the recruitment advertisement was directed specifically to men, and Edmund Bradwin as Director of Instructors characteristically replied to female applicants that "...this work applies to men in frontier places." "... it would be quite unsuitable work for yourself." (v.143, 144)

"I CAN HANDLE A TEAM OR HOE A CORN PATCH OR TAKE OFF AN APPLE CROP"

Fitzpatrick took one final step to send a woman to undertake work, in a northern settlement. He had undertaken a number of endeavours to encourage settlement west of Cochrane, between 1924 and 1934, including placing a brother on land he had acquired for the College. Margaret Strang, who had grown up and worked on a farm, had just graduated in medicine from the University of Western Ontario. During the summer of 1929, Strang's chief responsibility in the "community" was to teach English- and French-speaking children living near the College property as well as several miles distant. (A number of Frontier College men had been sent to help with the homesteading and to teach at Edlund, preceding and following Strang's season of work there. The district was not organized to support a school.)

Of the women who formally participated in Frontier College's work during those first thirty years, Strang was the only one to maintain one of the College's record books, in which the labourer-teacher was expected to keep a meticulous record of the names, ages and language backgrounds of participants, a log of daily instruction, and descriptive material on the work site or community in which the labourer-teacher was engaged. There were usually five or six children in the settlement around Edlund, and three or more some two miles distant. In n the evenings she provided instruction in English and French to the older boys and some adults. In addition to constant instruction and drill in English and French, she worked with the younger children', teaching arithmetic, geography, history, botany and geology. She encouraged the children to keep scrapbooks and make observations through her microscope, and helped the adults to improve their English by arranging sing-songs..

Strang's record book shows that she was fully occupied with teaching through the day and evening, and the observation that she was "courageous", and, as a doctor, "visited settlements any hour of the day or night" (5, p.2) does not seem to be borne out by her record book nor correspondence with Fitzpatrick. "... between hay-making, teaching and keeping house I am kept pretty busy." (v.54) "Resourceful" and "mettlesome" perhaps best describe her attitude to the circumstances in which she was placed. Of the several women employed by the College she seemed to have the greatest sense of modest accomplishment.

III. THE UNIVERSITY PHASE

Fitzpatrick had called for university extension to be more accessible and flexible. He set about creating a degree-granting programme, which received a Dominion charter in 1922, so that it might operate throughout Canada. Examiners were appointed from a number of universities, and a calendar was first issued in 1925=26. The extensive text of this calendar repeats many of the objectives Fitzpatrick had described in *The University in Overalls* e.g. "Relating an Arts Course to Life"; "Woman and Land Ownership" (v.132)

Opportunity for study was to be given "... to men and women in remote districts who, because of their location and work ... were prevented from attending any centrally located university." (Scrapbook: *Frontier College, Forty Years of Service*)

Fields of study for 1926-27 included English, French, German, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Forestry, Geology and Mineralogy, History, Economic and Political Science, Sociology, Philosophy, Agriculture, and Religious Knowledge.

Although the Frontier College correspondence files show that a few women enquired about the degree programme, only two registered for courses, and none progressed to a degree. The College sent out about thirty calendars each year, and answered over one hundred enquiries. In 1930 it was reported that one B.A. and one M.A. degree had been awarded to male candidates. The correspondence indicates that the College lacked a system or staff resources to track candidates when their pursuit of courses lapsed. (v.145)

During the 1920s, the College's financial status was unstable. Small deficits occurred in 1923 and 1927. Substantial deficits occurred in 1925, 1929 and 1930, resulting in accrued indebtedness of more than $29,000 in 1931.

Through intervention of the University of Toronto, seeking to have the College's degree-granting powers abrogated from the Charter, the Ontario government withheld its annual grant of $7,500 in 1929, 1930 and 1931. (v.173) Fitzpatrick's immediate assistant, Edmund Bradwin, and the Board were agreed that the university phase must end and the government grant be reinstated.

According to Eric Robinson, Bradwin's successor as Principal, "The neglect of the field, as well as Fitzpatrick's schemes, marked by excesses and poor financial management, led to a rift in May 1931 between Fitzpatrick and Bradwin, the key field director." (MG 31, D157, Ch.l, p.13)

FRONTIER COLLEGE FROM 1930 TO 1990

Frontier College records show no placement of women under Edmund Bradwin, Fitzpatrick's successor, nor under Eric Robinson. During the Great Depression, women faced unemployment, but it was expected that single women would be assisted by their families, and that married women would not seek work beyond occasional jobs or household help. Frontier College expanded the work of male labourer-teachers, continuing to place them on work sites, but also placing them, under government contract, in assignments in relief camps. Although women were appointed to the College's Board, and both the IODE and the Women's Association of the Mining Industry of Canada were particularly active supporters of the College's programme, women were not sought in any capacity to carry out the College's work in the field.

The executive role at Frontier College changed from Principal to President in 1971 when Ian Morrison succeeded Eric Robinson. "The pioneering or substantial advancement of the College under his [Morrison's] direction [was] the greatly increased participation of women in the field program including their appointments as field supervisors ..." (Robinson, ch. V, p. 181)

Through the 1970s and 1980s, single women and couples were appointed in community projects in eastern Canada, northern and northwestern Canada. New kinds of literacy projects were identified to meet needs in the inner city and the workplace, in prisons, with children, and with aboriginal adults. Women acted as coordinators, instructors and tutors. No longer were their roles thought unusual.

In an undated Frontier College newsletter (Robinson source file), Jane Henson was reported to be "... the first woman miner at the Falconbridge Copper Mine, Queen Charlotte Islands ... wielded both shovel and chalk while sharing a bunkhouse with 89 men. This year we have two women working there with four recently employed local women."

Frontier College's most recent annual report mentions an increase in labourer-teacher appointments, contrasted with its work in other, newer programmes. "We are pleased to have placed the first female railway L-T in recent history on a gang in Northern Ontario." (Frontier College Annual Report, 1990)

It took fifty years for Alfred Fitzpatrick's ideas to take root within a vastly changed Canadian society. May women's participation continue to strengthen the Canadian frontier, wherever that frontier is now defined to exist.

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"MINING" THE FRONTIER COLLEGE ARCHIVES: LABOURER-TEACHERS AT THE CASTLE-TRETHEWEY MINE, NORTHERN ONTARIO, 1925-1930

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Labourer-teachers provided literacy and citizenship education at a silver mine between 1925 and 1930, chiefly to immigrant men. Frontier College instructors faced problems of student turnover, poor teaching accommodation, and lack of continuity in postings to serve the men.

Les ouvriers-enseignants à Castle-Trethewey ont enseigné l'alphabétisation et la citoyenneté aux mineurs immigrants entre 1925 et 1930. Les instituteurs du Collège Frontière étaient confrontés avec des problèmes de changement d'étudiants, de manque de salles de classe, et de continuité dans l'enseignement.

Frontier College was founded by Alfred Fitzpatrick as The Canadian Reading Camp Association, to bring a basic education in literacy and citizenship to men working in Canada's frontier areas, especially at lumbering and railway construction camps. Shortly after the Association's founding, one of the instructors found that it was practicable and meaningful to work as a labourer with the men during the day, before engaging the men in schooling and recreation during the evenings. This established the pattern of instruction by which Fitzpatrick, as Principal, and Edmund Bradwin, his assistant in the field, sought male university students to engage in manual labour for a wage, and to teach for a small supplemental payment provided by the Association and its successor organization, Frontier College.

As mine sites in Ontario were discovered and developed, they too became the locations where Frontier College labourer-teachers were placed. By the 1920s the College had systematized the task of selecting appropriate work sites, of matching applicants with the requirements of the sites, and the College had prepared a handbook for instructors, and a basic primer of instruction for individual students.

The details of each labourer-teacher's work was recorded in a standard register designed and issued by the College. It included two pages of general instructions; pages to record daily and monthly attendance of participants, their names, ages and nationality; space for the instructor to report his overall impressions of his season's work; written responses from students at the end of the season; a general profile of the "community", including sketch maps and snapshots. The register ended with an account of monies owing the labourer-teacher from Frontier College at the conclusion of a summer's work. Virtually all of the labourer-teachers' individual registers have been preserved in the Frontier College archives, thus it is possible to examine Frontier College activities in particular industries and at particular locations.

I. MEN EMPLOYED IN ONTARIO INDUSTRY: THE NEEDS OF THE ILLITERATE

The province of Ontario, between 1900 and 1920, had shown some concern for employees in industry and their needs for basic and continuing education, but this was focussed chiefly on manufacturing industries in southern Ontario. John Seath's report, 1911, quoted the opinion of contemporary Canadian educators that efforts to teach men after the working day would prove ineffectual: "Strenuous work during the day leaves the men too exhausted for effective study at night. The employer cannot afford to release the worker during the day." (Dean Pakenham, Faculty of Education, University of Toronto). (4, p.376) "... the untrained man ... lacks staying power." "Evening classes to be effective require a long course of concentrated effort toward a definite purpose ..." Irregular and sporadic attendance at evening classes would result in the participant's lack of progress, leading to his "dissatisfaction, or even disgust." (Dean Ellis, Faculty of Education, Queen's University). (4, p.377-78)

J.B. MacDougall was one Ontario educator who was able to observe Frontier College's work and acknowledge that Fitzpatrick's unconventional approach worked in the setting to which it applied.

MacDougall had inspected schools in "New Ontario" from 1904 to 1911, and was subsequently appointed to North Bay Normal School. His doctoral thesis was published as *Building the North* in 1919, one year before Fitzpatrick's *The University in Overalls* appeared. MacDougall noted that, according to Fitzpatrick, before the First World War 30 percent of Canadian frontier workers were illiterate, and a larger number were unfunctional in arithmetic. (3, p.140) MacDougall quoted statistics to the effect that in Ontario in 1915 more than 70% of immigrants were not naturalized. He observed that Frontier College instructors taught workers to read and write English, to acquire a vocabulary appropriate to the work place, and used a curriculum which also included arithmetic, history, geography, metallurgy and forestry. The process by which Frontier College introduced Canadianization included instruction on the history and geography of the British Empire, the franchise, and land-holding. (3, p.136)

II. FRONTIER COLLEGE AT THE CASTLE-TRETHEWEY MINE, GOWGANDA

Frontier College labourer-teachers were sent to the Castle-Trethewey Mine starting in 1925. This silver mine was located in the Cobalt area, more specifically twenty-seven miles from Elk Lake, the terminus point of a branch railway line which ran from Earlton on the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway. This was typical Pre-Cambrian Shield country. "Rocky ridges [alternate] with swampy depressions abounding in small lakes." (1, p.2)

Prominent on the minesite were the headframe for the shaft, various buildings concerned with surface operations, housing for staff with families, a cookery, and three bunkhouses. One of these housed English- and French-speaking Canadians; the other two bunkhouses accommodated European immigrant labourers.

The successive labourer-teachers appointed by Frontier College were D.M. Angevine (June-August 1925); R.J. MacDonald, October 1925 to January 1926; O.B. Coumans, July-August 1926; J.B. Angevine, December 1926 to January 1927; R.L. Cockfield, June-September 1927; A.M. Mackenzie, October 1927 to May 1928; R.L. Cockfield (returning), June-September 1928 and May-September 1929; R. Goddard, November 1929 to May 1930. They were current or recent students in arts, medicine and science. Most were educated in Canada, but none were specialists, as far as the records show, in Canadian history, geography or political science. Nor did they have formal teacher preparation and qualifications.

What were the origins of the participants? In the first season of instruction there were 6 to 8 Finns, 2 or 3 Ukrainians, 1 to 6 Croations, 1 Swede, 1 Pole, 1 or 2 Czechoslovakians, and 1 French-Canadian. Their ages ranged from 20 to 40. For the most part they were employed to work underground, chiefly as relatively unskilled "muckers".

Instructors taught classes ranging from 14 to 20 participants. Most of the workers who enrolled in Frontier College classes do not appear to have stayed with the programme for more than one or two seasons; whether they left the mine is not indicated. When Frontier College concluded its participation at the mine in 1930, the majority of students were Finnish, and a lesser number Ukrainian. (v.149, 151)

Although the expectation at Frontier College was that labourer-teachers were instructors of employed men, at least three women participated for some short periods at the Castle-Trethewey mine. They were Finnish, and likely lived in houses which their husbands had built on the mine site. Labourer-teacher reports for work in the Sudbury area also show participation of women. Unlike other work campsites, minesites appear to have been more likely to provide family housing, as well as bunkhouse accommodation for single men. (v. 149, 152)

What constituted the basic programme? According to the needs of the class, and of individual students, instructors used the materials provided by Frontier College to develop a basic command of English, to ensure that the miners had a basic knowledge of the vocabulary used in work underground and on the surface, and of arithmetic, to ensure that the men could fill out time-sheets and account for their wages. Instructors characteristically helped the men to write personal letters and prepare mail orders. The Frontier College office shipped books and magazines, many of which had been collected for them by voluntary organizations. The instructors noted that most of the recreational reading material was beyond the reading comprehension of participants, and that such materials were appreciated chiefly for illustrations depicting the Canadian land and lifestyle. Individual instructors introduced various recreational and sports activities at which they themselves were proficient, and which they hoped would interest the men.

What problems did the instructors face? What was their sense of achievement? An initial problem was lack of accommodation for instruction. Although the General Instructions in the report book advocated adapting to circumstances, (teaching, if necessary, in the open air), the first instructors, M. Angevine and MacDonald, found quite unsatisfactory the only choice available to them: teaching in the bunkhouses, where there was insuffcent space to set up a classroom or properly to segregate participants from non-participants. (At that time the mine manager was not willing to provide teaching accommodation which would involve at outlay of money.) C.G.D. Longmore, the College's field supervisor, wrote: "Mr. MacDonald has much influence with the foreign-born. He holds his classes right in their bunkhouses." (v. 149, 132) This remark indicates that Frontier College staff, coming out of the tradition of reading tents and shacks, was less concerned about makeshift conditions than were the new instructor recruits of the 1920s. Conditions improved. A subsequent mine manager was much more cooperative in responding to instructors' needs, and by 1930 the last of the instructors reported: "... the Frontier College building was made weather-proof, the company providing wood for the stove, electrical fixtures, etc." (v. 151)

Each of the successive labourer-teachers found difficult the prospect of instructing a group of men the majority of whom worked shifts in the mine, and who were unavoidably absent owing to their work schedule. The lack of continuity in attendance made it necessary to provide more drill and review than would otherwise have been necessary. Working with a class constantly variable in composition and numbers was a problem for which each instructor had to find his own solution. Frontier College teaching had originated in the lumber camps and railway construction, where the men worked long hours, but not in shifts. The College field staff does not appear to have helped the instructors to work out this particular issue.

Frontier College instructors participated with the men in their leisure time, joining in discussions in the bunkhouses, and trying to devise recreational programmes of interest. The men were unfamiliar with softball (a popular community activity), nor did they enjoy playing it; they took to horseshoes, and several learned to swim through the instructor's encouragement. (v. 149) Occasional trips by truck to Elk Lake created a welcome diversion for the bunkhouse men.

Cockfield wrote of an informal concert at which the bunkhouse men had played and sung for the benefit of himself and a friend, of which the friend had commented "... I didn't think they were so damn fine." (v. 151) The men, in their turn, were appreciative of the instructors' efforts. "I would like to learn moore (sic)." "...hope we will have sckool (sic) again soon."

Many of the men would have preferred a year-round Frontier College programme, as they were more confined to the bunkhouses during the winter than during the summer. But at the time that Frontier College was sending labourer-teachers to the Castle-Trethewey, the College was in financial difficulty because of its commitment to its degree-granting programme. The College was much overextended in continuing to send out some fifty men each year. (v. 173)

The instructors felt themselves to have been privileged to work for the College. Several of them spent more than one season working for the College, at the mine or at other types of work sites. Murray Angevine commented: "Three of the students were eligible for naturalization and two were taking out their papers..." "...when the time came to leave I felt that I was leaving many real friends behind." (v.149) The instructors knew that they had made a difference in the lives of the men they taught. They confirmed what Alfred Fitzpatrick and J.B. MacDougall knew by experience of the north: that it required imagination and effort to apply new ideas to the problems posed by educational needs on the frontier.

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LIST OF PRESENTERS

	Page
BAR-DAVID, Geila	238
BASKETT, "Morris" H.K.	1
BECKER, Laurel	7
BÉDARD, René	13
BLUNT	21
BRITON, Derek	27
BUTTERWICK, Shauna	33
CESLJAREVIC,	39
CHAPMAN, Don	250
CHÉNÉ, Adèle	51
COMUZZI, Catherine	238
CRUIKSHANK, Jane	57
COLLARD, Sue	45
COLLINS, Michael	45
COLLINS, Michael	51
COSTELLO-NICKITAS, Donna	80
CUNNINGHAM, Phyllis	45
DAO, Kim Chi	68
DEVINS, Susan	27
DIETZE, Beverlie	250
DUFF, Viola	63
DUFRESNE-TASSÉ, Colette	68
DUFRENSE-TASSÉ, Colette	167
DYFRESBE-TASSÉ, Colette	173
DYSON, Rose	74
ELIAS, Mary	80
FALLIS, Bill	74
GEISSINGER, Helen	86
GIBSON, Robert H.	93
GILLEN, Marie A.	99
HARRIS, Elayne	106
HILL, Lilian	7
HINDS, Cora	112
HOME, Alice	118
HRIMECH, Mohamed	128
HRIMECH, Mohamed	134
HUNT, Ian	140
JACKSON, Nancy	33
JOHNSTON, Nancy	63
KARPIAK, Irene E.	146
LAPOINTE, Thérèse	152
LASCHINGER, Heather	63
LAUZON, A.C.	158
LEFEBVRE, André	167
LEMAIRE, Christiane	118
LÉVESQUE-BARBES, Hélène	173

Page

LITNER, Bluma . . . 179
LOUCKS, Bryan M. . . . 106
MacKERACHER, Dorothy . . . 33
MAGNUSON, Berna A. . . . 80
MARTINEAU, Georges . . . 39
MASON, Diana J. . . . 80
McILROY, John . . . 227
McQUEEN, Bill . . . 74
MLOZI, Malongo R.S. . . . 185
MOORE, G.A.B. . . . 158
OUELLETTE, Jeannine M. . . . 13
OUELLETTE, Monique . . . 191
PALACIOS, Alejandro . . . 197
PLUMB, Donovan . . . 27
ROSS, Lynda R. . . . 203
RUNDLE, Patricia . . . 209
SCANLAN, Judith M. . . . 80
SCHICK, Carol . . . 215
SELMAN, Gordon . . . 221
SIDDIQUI, Nuzhat . . . 74
SPENCER, Bruce . . . 227
THOMAS, Alan M. . . . 233
TREMBLAY, Nicole A. . . . 39
VAN DAELE, Christa . . . 238
VAN GENT, Bastiaan . . . 244
WALL, Margaret E. . . . 250
WALSH, Stephen M. . . . 256
WELTON, Michael . . . 45
WELTON, Michael . . . 51
WIGMORE, Shirley K. . . . 262
WIGMORE, Shirley K. . . . 268
WINTER, Gail . . . 106

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